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THE NEW AND OLD
IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

C. LUTHER FRY

Chippewa County, W. Wisconsin.
Bald eagle country. - Local condition
of the country, etc. - - - - -
1. Chippewa County.
2. Population, 1900, 100.

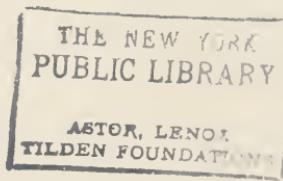
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THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT
ON THE LAND





A CITIZEN OF TO-MORROW

The Church and social agencies are doing little or nothing
for this boy

Sept. 1, 1922
COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS SURVEYS

TOWN AND COUNTRY DEPARTMENT
EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, Director

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

A STUDY OF AMERICANIZATION
AND THE RURAL CHURCH

BY

C. LUTHER FRY

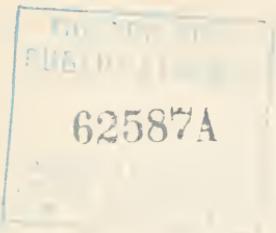
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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS,
MAPS AND CHARTS



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PREFACE

THE Committee on Social and Religious Surveys was organized in January, 1921. Its aim is to combine the scientific method with the religious motive. The Committee conducts and publishes studies and surveys and promotes conferences for their consideration. It coöperates with other social and religious agencies, but is itself an independent organization.

The Committee is composed of: John R. Mott, Chairman; Ernest D. Burton, Secretary; Raymond B. Fosdick, Treasurer; James L. Barton and W. H. P. Faunce. Galen M. Fisher is Associate Executive Secretary. The offices are at 111 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

In the field of town and country the Committee sought first of all to conserve some of the results of the surveys made by the Interchurch World Movement. In order to verify some of these surveys, it carried on field studies, described later, along regional lines worked out by Dr. Warren H. Wilson* and adopted by the Interchurch World Movement. These regions are:

I. Colonial States: All of New England, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

II. The South: All the States south of Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio River east of the Mississippi, including Louisiana.

III. The Southern Highlands Section: This section comprises about 250 counties in "The backyards of eight Southern States."

IV. The Middle West: The States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and northern Missouri.

V. Northwest: Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and eastern Montana.

VI. Prairie: Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska.

VII. Southwest: Southern Missouri, Arkansas and Texas.

VIII. Range or Mountain: Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada and western Montana.

The Director of the Town and Country Survey Department for the Interchurch World Movement was Edmund deS. Brunner. He is likewise the Director of this Department for the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys.

* See Wilson, "Sectional Characteristics," *Homelands*, August, 1920.

The original surveys of Sheboygan and Price Counties were under the direction of Dr. Edward Blakeman and the Rev. Frank E. Wagg, Supervisor and Assistant Supervisor of the Interchurch World Movement's town and country survey in Wisconsin. The field workers of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys were B. Y. Landis, for Sheboygan, and Helen O. Belknap, for Price. They visited these counties in the summer of 1921 and building on the original survey added new material. These field workers are entirely responsible for the facts presented in this volume. The technical adviser was Mr. H. N. Morse, of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, who was also Associate Director of the Town and Country Survey in the Interchurch World Movement.

Valuable help was given by the Home Missions Council; by the Council of Women for Home Missions through their sub-Committee on Town and Country, and by a Committee appointed jointly by the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches for the purpose of coöperating with the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys in endeavoring to translate the results of the survey into action. The members of this Joint Committee on Utilizing Surveys are:

Representing the Federal Council of Churches

Anna Clark	C. N. Lathrop
Roy B. Guild	U. L. Mackey
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C. E. Burton	W. P. Shriver
A. E. Cory	Paul L. Vogt
David D. Forsyth	Warren H. Wilson

INTRODUCTION

THE POINT OF VIEW

THIS book is a religious survey of two Wisconsin counties largely settled by new Americans. Its purpose is to show the sort of problems that arise when Europeans settle on our soil and to point out the responsibility of the rural church to help Americanize these new-comers.

The two counties studied in this book are Sheboygan and Price, Wisconsin. Many considerations entered into their choice. For one thing, it must be borne in mind that this book, while complete in itself, is also part of a larger whole. From among the one thousand county surveys completed or nearly completed by the Inter-church World Movement, twenty-six counties, situated in the nine most representative rural regions of America, were selected for intensive study. In this way it was hoped to obtain a bird's-eye view of the religious situation as it exists in the more rural areas of the United States. All the counties selected were chosen with the idea that they were fair specimens of what was to be found throughout the area of which they were a part.

In selecting the counties an effort was made to discover those which were typical in the social and religious problems they presented. It is, of course, recognized that there are reasons why exception might be taken to the choice of any county. No area is completely representative of every situation. The two Wisconsin counties described in this pamphlet are, however, in general typical of large sections throughout the middle west that have been settled by immigrants.

Intensive investigation in all these studies has been limited to the distinctively rural areas and to those centers of population which have less than five thousand inhabitants. In the case of towns larger than this an effort has been made to measure the service of such towns to the surrounding countryside, but not to study each church and community in detail.

The material in this volume has been divided into two parts. In Part I the aim has been to paint a picture of the social and religious conditions in the two counties studied, and to describe the major problems faced by the churches in these areas, especially the need

for Americanization. It is hoped that this section will be of value to the typical country pastor who is facing the question of ministering to new Americans; and that it will increase the interest of Americanization experts in citizenship training for immigrant farmers. It also serves as an introduction to Part II, which not only presents the methodology of the survey and the definitions employed, but includes in tabular form the major facts revealed by the investigation. This half of the book is intended especially to meet the needs of church executives and students of sociology who desire to carry the investigation further than is possible in the more popular presentation of Part I.

Throughout, the aim of the survey is practical. It is hoped that it will prove of value not only to the churches and communities surveyed, and to church boards and societies operating therein, but also to social and educational agencies which are interested in rural work generally. It is also believed that the situations discovered and the problem emerging in each of the surveys will be found to bear sufficient resemblance to those in other counties within the same region, as to render the policies and programs proposed of definite value beyond the boundaries of the areas that have been intensively studied.

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PART I

NEW AMERICANS IN RURAL AMERICA

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

CHAPTER I

THE BATTLE WITH THE FOREST

THE history of Wisconsin is the story of man's battle with a forest and its stumps. A hundred years ago, when the Chippewa Indians hunted and fished among the rolling hills and placid lakes of what is now the Badger State, the entire area was virtually one enormous forest. Oaks and birches and great families of evergreens were the first real settlers of this rich expanse. With the coming of the whites a titanic struggle began for the possession of this land. The conflict was not between the pale face and the Indian but between the newcomers and the vast standing army of trees.

The outbreak of this war took place early in the last century, when a few pioneers filtered into the southern part of the State and decided that this was their promised land. Soon they were hewing down trees for houses and wrestling with the stumps for a farm. It was pitiless pioneer labor, this hacking of trees and dragging up of stumps. There seemed no end to the quantity of timber. The newcomers worked bravely, but their forces were few and the advance painfully slow. With the steady arrival of fresh settlers the enemy was pushed slowly backward and the battle line moved further north. As time went on men learned to employ high explosives in this struggle with nature. They began to use dynamite, and more recently T.N.T.—for the war with the forest and the stump still rages.

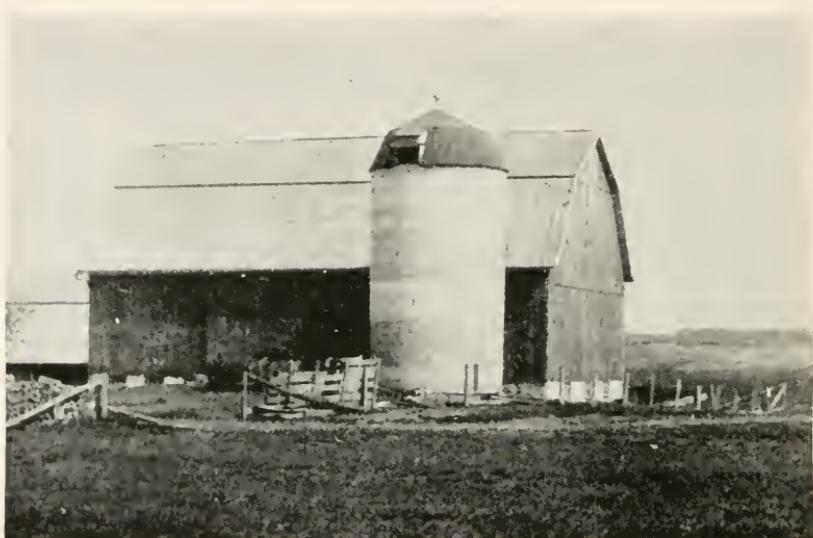
WISCONSIN'S DOUBLE LIFE

In Wisconsin, then, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries meet. In the cleared areas the farms are as modern as any in America. Indeed, the southern portion of the State is a 1922 model farming

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

community. Much of northern Wisconsin is, however, still in the forest-fighting stage in which only the pioneer can live.

The census figures for 1920 tell clearly, though unemotionally, the history of this conflict. In twenty-two counties in the south, two-thirds of the land have been brought under cultivation, whereas of the total area of fourteen northern counties only about one-twentieth is improved. After generations of fighting not more than three-eighths of Wisconsin's total land area has been freed from the enemy so that it can be used for farming. Yet the Department

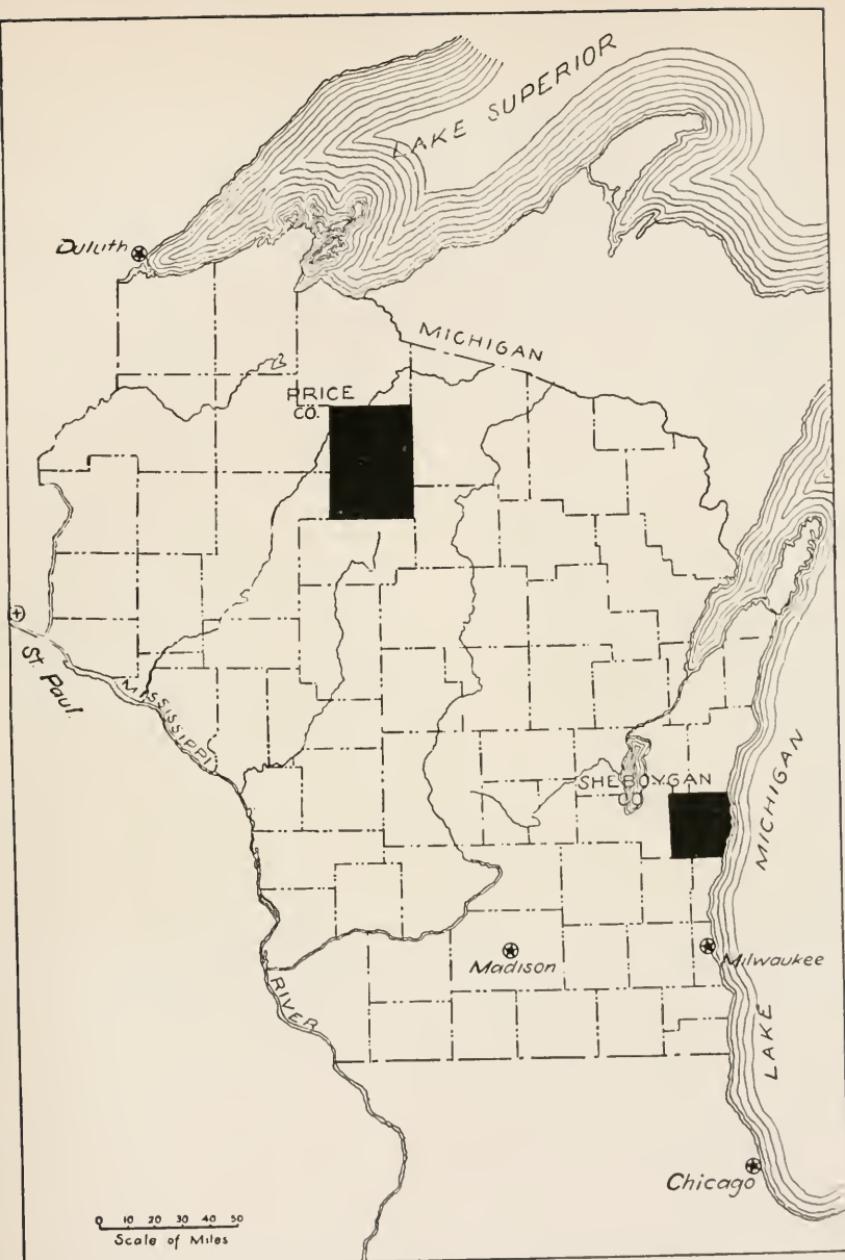


A 1922 MODEL FARM

Fat barns and silos proclaim the prosperity of Sheboygan's people

of Agriculture estimates that the State now has ten and one-half million unfarmed acres which might be brought under cultivation if cleared of trees and stumps.

Ten and one-half million acres! That is more than four-fifths of the present plowlands of the State. It represents more improved land than the whole State of Virginia can boast. At the normal rate of old-fashioned pioneering it would take generations to bring this acreage under cultivation. During the twenty years between 1900 and 1920 only 60,000 acres were salvaged annually for crops. At this rate, it would require at least a century and a half to bring the war on the woods to a close. But Wisconsin is planning a great offensive. The State itself has recently appointed a general staff to deal with the matter. A corps of government engineers has



MAP OF WISCONSIN SHOWING THE LOCATION OF SHEBOYGAN AND PRICE COUNTIES
Sheboygan County is a rich agricultural area, while Price is still in the pioneer stage

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

been organized to coöperate with the settlers in clearing the land. So effective have been the up-to-date methods introduced by these officials that the work of decades can be compressed into years. Instead of taking a century and a half, northern Wisconsin will probably be wrested from the stumps within a few decades.

The two counties studied in this report are Sheboygan and Price. They illustrate clearly Wisconsin's double life. Sheboygan is a rich agricultural area, long ago cleared of its forests. Price County, on the other hand, is in the heart of the cut-over country with a quarter of its area in standing timber.

Turn to a map of Wisconsin. Sheboygan County is that rectangular patch lying along the shores of Lake Michigan, half way between the northern and southern ends of the State. The county itself includes more than 500 square miles of rolling dairy lands, prosperous farms and green market gardens. But these rich pastures, dairies and gardens rest upon a buried past of primeval forests. Originally this area, like the part further north to-day, was heavily timbered. The trees were not, however, evergreens, as in Price County, but mainly hard woods—a great advantage to the early pioneers, as hard-wood timber is much more easily cleared than pine.

PIONEERING IN SHEBOYGAN

Now the land is practically all reclaimed. According to the census of 1920, more than nine-tenths of the county is in farms and nearly three-fourths is improved land. This is the transformation of a century. A hundred years ago the redskins were the only inhabitants of this beautiful land that lies beside the blue waters of Lake Michigan. Sheub-wau-wau-gum—"rumbling waters"—was the name they applied to its principal river, and from this the county takes its name.

The first white man to visit the section was a fur trader who in 1814 came to barter with the Indians, but it was not until twenty years later that a permanent settler entered the county. This early adventurer was William Paine, who came from Chicago in 1834. Soon others arrived from Cleveland and Milwaukee to join him. In 1836 the county was organized, a post office established and the first school started.

These early years were dark indeed for the little band of pioneers alone in the wilderness, facing almost incredible hardships and privations. The winters in this section are cold. Supplies were very

THE BATTLE WITH THE FOREST

scarce. The only way of obtaining provisions was by Indian canoes from Milwaukee. At one time, a load of condemned provisions from Green Bay was considered by the settlers as a godsend.

Suddenly, in 1837, the whole situation changed. As if by magic, a tremendous boom started. Sheboygan became the center of a "land craze"—a mad, speculative scramble. Corner lots in Sheboygan City were sold in New York for as high as \$15,000 an acre.

Then came the cold, gray dawn of the morning after. The crash nearly wrecked the city. At one time only a single settler remained in the town, and even in 1840 the population of the entire county was only 133 souls. Sheboygan could not be made prosperous by speculation. Hard, back-breaking toil was the only road to her riches. Thus, the weak and the unfit were weeded out of Wisconsin. Only sturdy stock could stand the pioneer pace.

The wholesome, natural growth of Sheboygan began in 1838. Curiously enough, that was the very year when the first church was established there. On a cold February morning, five Christians came together in Sheboygan City and started a Baptist church. Their first pastor was the village blacksmith, who called his congregation to worship every Sunday morning by a mighty blast on his long, old-fashioned horn.

A new era began. Roads were built. That same year a highway was started between the cities of Madison and Sheboygan. The next year another was constructed from Sheboygan to Fond du Lac. Then, in 1869, came the new type of road—the railway. In that year the Sheboygan and Fond du Lac Railroad was finished, and in the next the Milwaukee and Northern. A shore line railroad, connecting Green Bay with Milwaukee, was completed in 1872.

Over these new arteries of travel came new settlers. Unlike the first arrivals in the county, many of them were immigrants from Holland. Germans followed them, streaming into the district. During the summer of 1853, no less than 13,400 landed, bag and baggage, in Sheboygan, having come directly from the old country.

SHEBOYGAN IN 1870

From this time growth was rapid. By 1870 the county's population was nearly 32,000. The number of schools had increased to 120 and the churches to more than fifty.

Agriculture also expanded. Land was rapidly cleared and put into cultivation. At the close of the Civil War, the value of Sheboygan's surplus products was a million and a half dollars. Wheat

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

was the main crop. So fine was its quality that it was especially quoted on the Milwaukee, Chicago, Buffalo and New York markets. Rye, barley and oats were also profitable. Indeed the county has never experienced a real failure of crops. Would that the Church could say the same!

Wool, too, was a money-making commodity. In these early days, sheep were brought from Vermont, but the quality of wool so improved by the change of pasture that it sold in New England at an advance over the wool of old Vermont herself.

A most striking agricultural development has been the evolution of the dairying industry, especially the manufacture of cheese. It was in the sixties that the cheese industry began to assume an importance which was destined to become permanent. Nevertheless, when Sheboygan cheese was first exhibited in Chicago, dealers would have nothing to do with it, until one canny dairyman hit upon a brilliant idea: he paid a dealer for the time necessary to examine his product. The experiment worked—he sold his goods. By 1867, Sheboygan cheese was bringing better prices than the product of other dairying states such as Ohio and New York.

Manufactures of an agricultural sort were developed during these years. In 1870 there were seventeen grist mills and twenty-six lumber mills. With the clearing of the land, the lumber mills followed the forests northward, but other types of factories came in to take their place. Thus step by step, Sheboygan developed into a flourishing agricultural county.

A LAND OF GREEN PASTURES AND STILL WATERS

To-day the traveler in Sheboygan County motors over splendid roads through fields of blue-gleaming oats, golden-tasseled corn and across wide stretches of green pastures. He senses the heavy breath of buckwheat and hears the hum of bees in clover. Except for the northwestern corner, where the Kettle range of hills cuts abruptly across the county, the land is gently rolling. Sometimes from the top of these undulations, he descries below him the clear water of one of the small lakes. For a time his road follows a stream lazily winding toward Lake Michigan. Yonder is a herd of splendid Holsteins, and farther down the road a clump of fine old trees. Everywhere is peace and plenty. The neatly painted houses, the fat barns and plump silos, all betoken the prosperity of the people. It is a land literally flowing with milk and honey.

Sheboygan's riches are far above those of the average agricul-

THE BATTLE WITH THE FOREST

tural county. The soil is very fertile and there are commercial clay deposits. Limestone is found along the Pigeon River and the gravel of Kettle Hills is rapidly being turned to account. Most of the soil of Sheboygan is a rich dark loam. The lowlands are used for grazing and the uplands for the production of grains.

In 1920 the total value of all crops was seven and one-half million dollars. Of the entire crop acreage, about two acres out of every five were in grains, with oats leading and corn of next importance. All the rest was in cultivated grasses except a few thousand acres chiefly devoted to potato culture. Animal and dairy



A NEW FARM HOME

The farmers of Sheboygan County are "well off"

products are equally important, having a combined value in 1920 of approximately seven million dollars, of which the dairying industry accounted for rather more than \$6,000,000. Sheboygan is, indeed, one of the most important cheese-producing counties in the country, and this interest in dairying has led to the development of remarkably fine herds of cattle. As the county agent put it: "This is a county of blacks and whites. Nearly every farm has its milk cows and more than 150 breeders own 3,000 pure bred Holsteins."

In addition to the agriculture and the dairying, there are also manufacturing interests within the rural sections of Sheboygan. The town of Sheboygan Falls has twelve factories, and Plymouth has ten, while the village of Kohler is the home of the Kohler Com-

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

pany which manufactures porcelain products. These twenty-three concerns among them employ approximately 2,400 persons.

Sheboygan County, then, is an unusually prosperous agricultural area. The inhabitants are "well off." Out of every ten farmers



SHEBOYGAN IS A LAND OF GREEN PASTURES

More than 150 breeders have 3,000 pure bred Holsteins

there are nine "owners" to one "renter." Although the usual farm is only about eighty-five acres, the average investment in both land and building is \$18,000. Two-thirds of the farms have silos. These lands should be rich harvest fields for the Church.

CHAPTER II

A CUT-OVER COUNTRY

THE trip from Sheboygan County to Price is only one hundred and fifty miles, but in that short distance the traveler moves from one period of civilization to another. He leaves behind the green pastures and still waters of Sheboygan and enters a land of pungent pines. But more than that, he leaves the modern stage of rural progress and enters the pioneer period.

Price County to-day, like the Sheboygan of yesterday, is still subduing forests. True, only about one-fourth of the county is in timber and much of this is second growth, but even so the battle with the woods still rages. Indeed, the real war with a forest never begins until after the great trees are down. Man revels in the struggle with big timber. Modern alchemy can readily convert this into gold. It is the clearing of the stump that kills men. These dry bones of a dead forest are his real enemy.

PRICE COUNTY EMERGES

Sixty years ago Price County was the heart of a vast virgin forest, its only permanent inhabitants the myriads of pines and evergreens interspersed with tracts of hard woods. The first white settler to make his home in the county was Major Isaac Stone, a man of the stuff that pioneers are made of. In 1860 he brought his family out to a lonely life in this wilderness, and they had to wait a dozen years before they had a neighbor nearer than forty miles away. A contemporary historian thus quaintly described the adventure: "In this wilderness where for fifteen years there was not heard 'the sound of axe, hammer or any tool of iron,' excepting those in the employ of the major, he has built himself a comfortable home and reared an intelligent and interesting family."

Suddenly, in 1873, came the railroad. In that year the Wisconsin Central, attracted by the splendid lumber, nosed its way into Price. Three years later it pushed on to Lake Superior. This line ran directly through the center of the county and by 1877 was providing regular train service.

Over this steel road came the logger and the pioneer. Soon the lumberman was at work hewing down trees. Price County be-

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

came a land of blazed trails. Before long thousands of logs were being shot down the Elk, the Jump and the Flambeau rivers, and thence to the Mississippi. By 1880 the county was furnishing not less than 100,000,000 feet of choice timber a year.

With the development of lumbering came mushroom settlements. In 1876 the town of Phillips was laid out, numbering 300 inhabitants in less than six months. Then a fire destroyed all but seven buildings; yet the city kept on growing. In 1877 the first school was organized. There was no school-house, but what did that matter? The twenty-seven pupils met in a warehouse. That same year the first church was started. And here again, as there was no church building, the congregation met in a tiny hall above Alexander's saloon. Such is life on the firing-line of civilization.

The development continued rapidly. In 1879 the county was organized out of territory taken from Chippewa and Lincoln Counties. At first there was great opposition to this political amputation. The proposed county covered nearly 1,300 square miles of splendid timber land. It was too rich a plum to be disposed of lightly. But finally, after two years of legislative battling, the bill was passed and the infant county christened "Price" in grateful appreciation of Senator William T. Price for his staunch friendship in the Legislature. By 1880 the population of the county numbered 700, and by 1890, 5,250. Thus the march went on.

Then in July, 1894, came great disaster: Price, together with half a dozen nearby counties, was swept by a devastating fire. For days the air was choked with smoke and the nights were aglow with the ominous red aurora of burning timber. Phillips, the county seat, then a town of 2,000, was all but exterminated. In one day thirteen persons were burned to death and practically the entire population of the town was rendered homeless.

LUMBERING—A DYING INDUSTRY

During the early days Price was purely a lumbering county. At first buying timberland and chopping down trees were her sole interest, but very early came the lumber mill as well. By 1881 there were two saw mills; the one at Ogema had a yearly capacity of 20,000,000 feet and employed 100 men. As time went on, however, lumbering began to decline. No forest, no matter how great, could withstand the predatory onslaughts of these loggers. Wherever the lumberman went he mined the timber as though it were coal. No effort was made to replace the trees destroyed. The land

A CUT-OVER COUNTRY

was simply ravaged. And the sections man failed to destroy, forest fires devoured. Thus it is that lumbering is now a dying industry in Price County. Nevertheless, it is probable that even to-day more money is invested in the various branches of lumbering than in any other interest. There are seven lumber companies employing 2,000 men and one paper mill with 300 workers, as well as several saw mills. But much of the timber is now gone and that which remains is rapidly being cut out by local mills. To-morrow, lumbering will be a thing of the past as in Sheboygan County to-day.

THE COMING OF THE SETTLER

As the migratory lumberman finished his job in one section and moved on to another he left behind a desert waste of stump-clogged soil. Into this no-man's land seeped the settler looking for a permanent home. But between the newcomer and his longed-for farm stood one stupendous obstacle—the stump. Of course, there were other obstacles: there were taxes and land sharks, sickness and bad debts, but these were as nothing compared with the stump. It was the rotting of dead trees that broke men.

This battle with the stump is described graphically in an article which appeared in the *Survey* for November 27, 1920, by Miss Marion Calkins, a native of Wisconsin. One would think she had Price County specially in mind when she wrote:

The history of cut-over country in Wisconsin is a grim one. Uncleared country is such a vigorous resistance to man's home-making endeavor that it frequently defeats many generations. . . . The men it has made have staying power in them, the men it has destroyed are innumerable. A turnover of three settlers in one clearing is not rare. You can see them now in Wisconsin, on every back road, the little tar-papered shacks, the one-room cabins, nailed up and deserted, evidence of a lost fight, in which the defeated gained a few hundred yards and fell back, probably into the city which they feared only a little less. Cold-handed, solitary fights usually, sometimes victorious, for there are (and the wonder is that they are not rarer) occasionally homesteads, reclaimed from uselessness by the very fingernails of unaided effort. Some fine farms in the north section, though they prove not so much the loneliness as the hope of the country, nevertheless serve as relief for the backwardness about them.

This is a picture of Price County to-day. In a few sections, where the land was cleared decades ago, the farmers are as prosperous as many in Sheboygan, but in the newer settlements not yet cleared of stumps, life is crude and hard. Here only men with stamina can stand the grind; and the turnover of settlers is high. One by one the physically weak and the unfit give up the struggle. No wonder there are hundreds of thousands of acres in Price County still in the grip of the stump.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

Little by little, however, the land is being reclaimed. In 1900 only 13,118 out of Price's 818,560 acres were classed by the census as "improved land in farms." To-day this acreage is 40,383, a three-fold increase in twenty years. This development of agricultural lands has been controlled by the nature of the soil and by the relative distance from the railroad. The first would-be farmers naturally seized the richest lands along the railroad tracks. Those



THE RETREATING FOREST

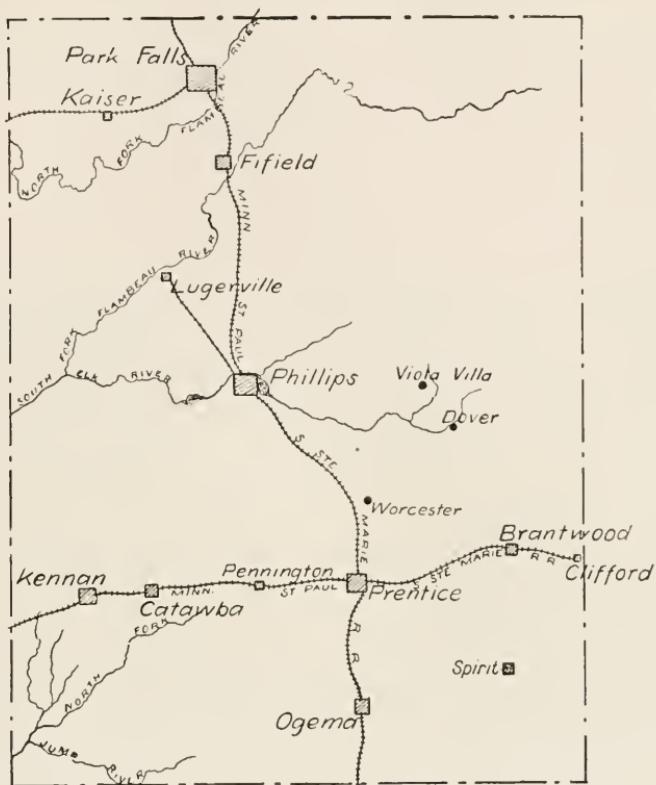
There are some rich farms in Price County

who came later had to take the poorer soil or move further away from transportation facilities. In more recent days the advertisements of the land companies have also been a factor in settling new soil.

At present one finds that the thickest settlements in the county lie along the tracks of the old Wisconsin Central railway, now the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Sault Ste. Marie, popularly known as the "Soo" line, while most of the remaining settlements are scattered on either side of the newer branch which runs directly east and west across the southern portion of the county.

PRICE COUNTY TO-DAY

In the past the process of reclamation has been slow. In 1920, just sixty years after the first settler cast his lot in Price County, the census reports show that only 26,000 acres, or 3 per cent of



MAP OF PRICE COUNTY

Price is still a frontier county. There is not a town of more than 2,700 people in the entire area

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

the total area, produced crops, and less than one-fifth of the area was in farms. At this rate it would take a century or more to bring the rest of the county under cultivation. But the past is no gauge for the future. As was noted in the first chapter, a new era of land-clearing has dawned in Wisconsin. Government agencies are teaching the isolated settler how to clear five acres, where he cleared but one before. In 1915 Carl Livingston, a practical visionary, who was then a young professor in agricultural engineering in the State University, in coöperation with the railroads, the Du Pont powder company, and the manufacturers of stump-pulling machinery, organized a demonstration train which went about from one section to another, telling interested knots of pioneers how to let dynamite do their work. The experiment was so successful that a second train was organized. The State Government became interested and appropriated money to further this new science of pulling stumps. Now there is a whole staff of officials who are constantly experimenting with new methods of stump-blowing. The State not only describes by means of free publications the most up-to-the-minute methods of clearing land, but through its county agents it actually buys explosives for the settler and shows him how to use them. During the year ended December 1, 1920, the county agent of Price bought for the settlers, through his office, 102,000 pounds of dynamite and 36,000 pounds of T.N.T. Thus it happened that between 1919 and 1920 the acreage in cultivated crops increased from 25,426 to 26,811, or a jump of 5 per cent in one year.

PRICE COUNTY TO-MORROW

As a result of the new methods of land-clearing Price County will be to-morrow a great agricultural and dairying county much like Sheboygan to-day. Her lands are rich and fertile. The small area now under cultivation gives a hint at her future farming possibilities. In 1920 her corn lands produced forty-one bushels to the acre and her oats forty-four, figures which compare favorably with the average for the State. Potatoes, particularly, thrive in this region. In 1919, when there was a country-wide potato failure, Price produced more than 260,000 bushels of "taters" from less than 2,000 acres of land. This was a yield of 132 bushels to the acre and compared with an average for the State of only ninety-eight. In that year, she was able to send 176 carloads to market. This means cash to the farmer.

A CUT-OVER COUNTRY

Like Sheboygan County, Price in all probability will become a dairying as well as an agricultural county. Already dairy cows are making money for the settlers. Smugly munching their way over the stumpy fields of clover are Holsteins, Jerseys and Guernseys. Between 1910 and 1920 the number more than doubled, increasing from 4,350 to 9,000.

"Northern Wisconsin," writes Professor George Humphrey, head of the Animal Husbandry Department of Wisconsin University,



SMUGLY MUNCHING HOLSTEINS

During the last decade the number of dairy cows in Price County more than doubled

sity, "is fast becoming a rich dairy country. Price County, in the central part of this section of the state, is contributing its share to the opportunities offered for dairy-farming. Land that is properly cleared and managed produces feed in abundance. Blue grass, which requires only the removal of brush to let in the sunlight, furnishes excellent pasture throughout the summer and until late in the fall. Rolling uplands and hill tops are most excellent for grazing purposes, while the more level areas produce excellent crops of clover and other grasses for hay, cereal crops, corn for silage and special crops that may be utilized for feed or marketed as cash crops, in addition to dairy products and live stock."

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

One of the other coming industries in Price County is sheep-raising. The land is so well adapted to this purpose that it has been likened to the "Downs" of England—the most famous sheep pastures in the world. Dr. Kleinheinz, Professor of Sheep Husbandry at the Wisconsin College of Agriculture and intimately acquainted with this region, has described its advantages in these glowing terms: "This county is well adapted for the profitable production of high class mutton and wool. The soil of the county produces an abundance of clover which is so essential for sheep-raising. Roots of all kinds for feeding sheep in winter can be grown there successfully. Pure fresh water flows in streams most everywhere. Hundreds of acres of undeveloped land lie there idle, waiting for sheep to come to assist in clearing them up so that these vast areas may later be used as good dairy farms. In such cases the sheep assures a double profit. It brings a good profit from the sale of mutton and wool and also increases the value of the land. . . . The land is there, the opportunity is offered, all that is needed are the sheep." Recently they have been introduced rapidly. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of sheep in Price County increased from 700 to 11,000, a growth of more than fifteen-fold. Such an eminent sheep man as the late Colonel L. D. Burch, editor of the *American Sheep Breeder*, located a sheep farm in Price County because, as he put it in his publication, "this great district forms as nearly an ideal sheep country as any the writer has ever seen in a quarter century of almost constant travel between the Great Lakes and the snowy range; and from Manitoba southward to Middle Texas."

The Price County of the future, like Sheboygan of the present, will undoubtedly be rich and prosperous. Sheep, which can scramble through underbrush in a way that cattle cannot, will probably be the go-between bridging the gap from lumbering to dairy-farming. Because of modern methods of land clearing this agricultural transformation will be far more rapid than in the past.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

WISCONSIN has been made rich and productive by the stranger within her gates. Throughout her history it has been chiefly the new-comer from overseas who has wrested this land from the forest. In the early days, when the tides of immigration to America were still flowing from northern Europe, it was the Scandinavian and the Teuton who settled on her fertile soil. In those days the war with the woods was still being waged in the southern part of Wisconsin and it was there that these new Americans began the battle for a home. During the past half century the type of European immigration has changed. The Slav is coming now in place of the German, and so it happens that to-day the frontier sections of Wisconsin are being largely settled by the more recent types of new Americans—the Pole, the Finn and the Bohemian.

Sheboygan and Price Counties clearly illustrate this change. The rural regions of Sheboygan were settled before the shift in the immigrant tide. As a result there are very few Slavic peoples in this section. Price County, on the other hand, shelters both the old and the new immigrants. Here the earlier settlers were Germans and Scandinavians, but within recent years the newer immigration has also moved into the region.

RELIGIOUS MIGRATIONS

This difference in the racial make-up of the two counties is of tremendous import to the church. Each nationality has a different type of religious background. Many of the earliest settlers, especially the Germans of Sheboygan, came to America primarily to worship God in their own way. They were as definitely in search of religious self-determination as the Puritans in New England two centuries earlier. Thus one finds in Sheboygan a tradition of respect and veneration for the Church which is explained by the conditions under which the section was settled.

The roots of Sheboygan's religious energies go back to Germany a hundred years ago. In 1817 Frederick III of Prussia decided to

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

unite the two forms of Protestant faith, the Lutheran and the Reformed, which had existed side by side since the Reformation. The stronghold of Lutheranism was North Germany, while Calvinism held the south. To Frederick the whole matter was simple. He regarded the two faiths as very much alike; why should they not be united, especially when a single State Church would make for greater political unity in his realm? Without consulting the two



READY FOR SUNDAY SCHOOL

Taking a last look at the Sunday School quarterly before leaving home to teach a class

churches he, therefore, proclaimed their union, and other German principalities followed his example.

The decision aroused great opposition. Frederick III himself was a Calvinist, and it was felt, especially by the Lutherans in North Prussia, that he was trying to exterminate their church. For some years the opposition was confined to mere verbiage, but in 1830, following a renewed effort to enforce the ordinance, a number of Silesian pastors, unwilling to consent to the union, left the country. Their active resistance spread to other towns. At Erfurt the leader of the opposition was Johannes Grabau, a Lutheran pastor, who, after a great internal conflict, reached the conclusion that the union of the two denominations was contrary to the express

THE PEOPLE OF SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

command of Scriptures. He, therefore, refused to obey the law. For this he was suspended from his pastorate and a new minister appointed in his place. But the congregation refused to desert their former leader and came to worship at his home. This, too, was forbidden by the authorities, which only served to make the little group more determined. At all costs they decided to "obey God rather than man."

THE TRIP TO AMERICA

The movement spread to other cities. The Government became alarmed and arrested Herr Grabau. Through the aid of a certain Captain von Rohr he managed to escape from jail. Later he was recaptured, and Von Rohr was discharged from the army. Then it was that this group of religious rebels decided to emigrate to the new world. Consent was finally obtained from the State, Pastor Grabau was released from prison, and Captain von Rohr was sent by the group to America to arrange for passage and to decide upon the best place of settlement. A common treasury was set up to raise money for the trip. Every one contributed according to his means, the wealthy assisting the poor.

Meanwhile Von Rohr was touring America looking for a suitable place to settle. After traveling through New York, Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin he finally decided on Buffalo and Milwaukee as the best locations.

In July, 1839, five vessels set out from Germany bearing this band of Lutheran emigrants, a thousand strong. They were met in New York by Von Rohr, who described the two places he had selected. Opinion was about equally divided. Accordingly Pastor Grabau led half of the group to Buffalo, while the others set out for Milwaukee with Von Rohr.

Picture Milwaukee at this time—a new frontier settlement ramshackle and bedraggled—and then imagine the consternation of the villagers at the sight of five hundred foreigners streaming into town. The place was swamped. There was not room enough to house them. The newcomers had to set up their camps in the streets. The poorer immigrants, who were without funds, immediately set to work clearing land around the city; but the more wealthy, about three hundred in all, decided to push further on. Many of them worked their way north and finally settled in Sheboygan. These German immigrants were chiefly farm laborers and handcraftsmen, and accordingly were well adapted to pioneer life.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

In 1843 another large group of Lutherans set out from northern Germany and came to Wisconsin. They, too, were looking for religious freedom. Differences had sprung up in the Lutheran church over questions of church government. One faction held that in any dispute over questions of doctrine the matter should be decided by a majority vote. The other side claimed that the only ultimate authority was the Scripture. It was to this minority party that the new emigrants belonged.

The letters of the settlers to their friends and relatives in the old country induced large numbers of other Germans to join them. Moreover, in 1853 Pastor Grabau and Captain von Rohr toured Germany, telling their countrymen of this land of promise across the sea, and as a consequence tens of thousands flocked to Wisconsin. By the close of the last century Sheboygan County had become the home of many thousands of North Germans.

This migration of Lutherans from North Germany throws a flood of light upon the present religious life of Sheboygan. It explains the predominance of Lutheranism in the county, but more than that it reveals the reason that religion has so powerful a grip upon the minds and imaginations of the people. Many of the present inhabitants are sons and daughters of Christian enthusiasts who would willingly have died for their faith.

German Lutherans were not, however, the only early settlers in this fertile land. Even before the coming of Von Rohr, Germans from Luxemburg, the Rhine Valley and other sections of the Low Country had migrated to Sheboygan, and their presence, together with the arrival of a number of Irish in more recent times, accounts for the dozen Catholic congregations which are found in the county in addition to churches of the Evangelical Synod of North America, German Reformed faith and Evangelical Association.

Nor were all of the new settlers Germans. As early as 1846 came peasant folk from spotless Holland to settle in the southern part of Sheboygan County. These new-comers differed from their German neighbors not only in customs, traditions and language, but also in being strict Calvinists. Consequently the races did not mix well together—and one result is the strength of the Dutch Reformed Churches in the county to-day.

While foreign blood, in which the Teutonic prevails, has dominated the population of Sheboygan from the beginning, a little leaven of Yankees from Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont has ever exerted a great influence upon the county. The New Englander was a pioneer in every part of Wisconsin. He has linked

THE PEOPLE OF SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

his name with nearly every important industry and with every section of the state. Though relatively few in numbers, these Americans from the East have played an important part in shaping the development of Sheboygan; and however much the foreign races have predominated in numbers, the Yankee influence has been potently felt throughout this county.

PRESENT POPULATION

Although Sheboygan County is already eighty-six years old, it is still a country of varied nationalities not too well mingled. The



THE LADIES' AID

The pastor's best friend on a picnic

national groups are beginning to know one another and are working together better than of old; but there is still the self-consciousness of adolescence which is not found in more mature communities. The region, as it were, is still in the awkward age. Out of a total population of 60,000 the German-born are 5,500 or 9 per cent, and probably one and one-half times that number are native-born of foreign parentage; many of the young people in the county are the grandchildren of the early German arrivals, and there are also nearly 3,000 German-speaking Austrians and Russians born abroad. In its racial characteristics, therefore, the county is mainly German, and the churches are dominantly those of this race.

Another important group of the foreign-born is the Dutch, num-

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bering 1,200 persons born in Holland. Indeed, the three communities of Oestburg, Cedar Grove and Gibbsville are made up principally of people of Dutch descent. None of Sheboygan's rural communities consists, however, entirely of one nationality. The folks of Irish, Austrian and Russian descent are not grouped in particular neighborhoods, but are scattered here and there over the county. Even the Germans and the Dutch in some sections are intermingled.

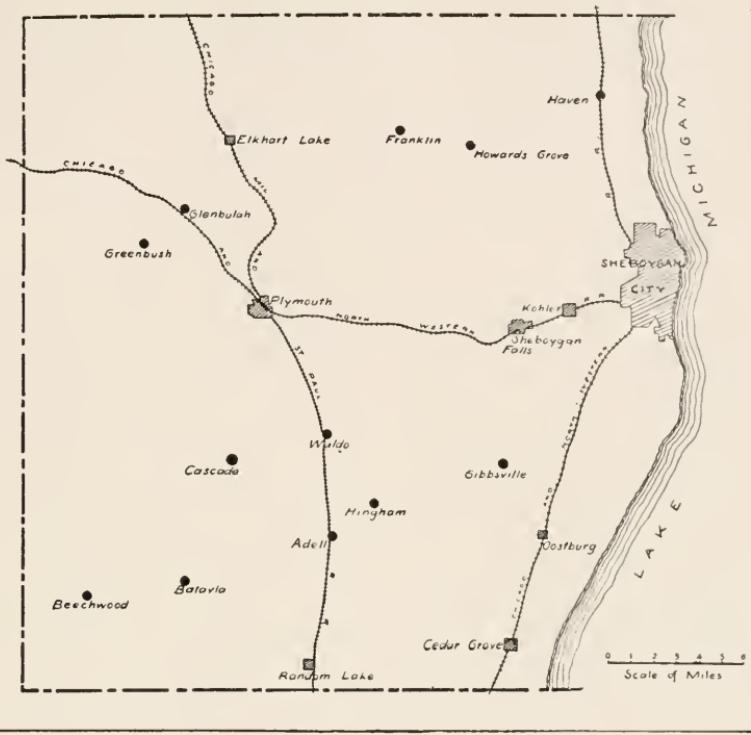
Within recent decades a few of the newer immigrants such as Greek, Slavs, Lithuanians and Poles have moved into the county, but most of these have flocked to Sheboygan City rather than to the rural regions. There has been no recent movement landward. In fact, during the past twenty years the communities with populations of less than 2,500 have remained practically stationary. Out of the 60,000 inhabitants of the county in 1920, 25,500, or 42 per cent, lived in these rural communities. This number is practically identical with the population of the same area in 1900, when the total inhabitants of the county numbered only 50,000, the indication being that the rural regions of Sheboygan have been steadily declining in comparison with the urban sections.

RURAL AND URBAN

As in most rural areas, the life of the individual farmer of Sheboygan centers upon the near-by hamlet or village located at the cross-roads. Since there are twenty-two communities in the county, it is impossible to describe each one in detail. As a whole they reflect the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding countryside. Moreover Plymouth and Sheboygan Falls have important industrial interests, and other centers have small factories. A few communities, especially those beside the beautiful lakes, rely upon profitable summer colonies to bring them additional incomes.

The town of Plymouth, with a population of 3,400, and the city of Sheboygan, with its 31,000 inhabitants, comprise the county's urban population. Plymouth is located in the geographical heart of the county. Not only the superintendent of schools and the county agent live there, but it is the home of the county training school for grade teachers as well as the Wisconsin Cheese Producers' Federation. The railroad facilities of the town are unusually good, so that in many ways it has become the shipping center of the county.

Sheboygan City, the county seat, is located at the mouth of the Sheboygan River, on the eastern edge of the county. Here two arms of land have been improved to form an excellent harbor.



MAP OF SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

The town and country areas have been steadily declining in numerical importance compared with the urban, until to-day every other inhabitant of the county lives in Sheboygan City

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This is a natural advantage, but it has not been extensively utilized because Sheboygan is so overshadowed by the larger trading centers of Chicago and Milwaukee. Because of its location, Sheboygan City is hampered in its service to farmers, but to those within a radius of fifteen or twenty miles it gives some banking and retail service. The banks estimate that they do from 10 to 25 per cent of their general banking business with farmers, and the merchants do from 10 to 30 per cent.

Sheboygan County, then, is a region early settled by Germans of the Lutheran, Reformed and Evangelical faiths. Many were looking for religious freedom and therefore brought with them a profound veneration for the church. This attitude still lives in the hearts of the people, although the county is three generations old. At present, out of every hundred inhabitants nineteen are native Europeans and thirty American-born of foreign parents; fourteen have a foreign-born father or mother, while thirty-seven are native-born of American stock. Numerically, the Germans are the dominant foreign group, with the Dutch a rather distinct second. The population, at least the rural part of it, has remained stationary for decades.

CHAPTER IV

PRICE COUNTY AND THE IMMIGRANT

THE early arrivals in Northern Wisconsin did not come with the same religious motives which brought so many Germans to Sheboygan. It was the lumber lure, not Lutheranism, that drew the pioneer to Price County. Her first settlers were looking for economic rather than religious freedom.

The history of Price County in the early days is the story of a "gold-rush" for timber. No sooner had the Wisconsin Central Railway penetrated the primeval forests of this section than the lumberman and speculator, the adventurer and ne'er-do-well rushed breathlessly into the country. Most of the early arrivals were native Americans looking for lumber lands. In one year the railway, which was a "land grant" road and received every odd-numbered section of Government-owned land for ten miles on each side of its tracks, disposed of more than 450,000 acres. These and other great tracts were bought up by lumber companies.

On the heels of the native Americans came the foreign-born laborers. The logging companies had to find men to fell their newly acquired trees and so the immigrant was introduced. In those days it was the northern European who came, especially the Swede. By 1890 approximately 50 per cent of the county's total population was foreign-born, and of these, nearly one-half were Scandinavians and about one-third German-speaking peoples.

THE NEW AMERICAN AND "CUT-OVER" LAND

As the trees of the county were swiftly and ruthlessly felled, stump-covered country began to appear. Parts of Price County became devastated lands. Instead of silent and majestic aisles of heavy-scented pine patched with sunlight and carpeted with moss, appeared a wilderness of stumps. Such land was of no further value for lumbering, and it was therefore sold for farms. One who has not seen cut-over country can hardly imagine the task of clearing it of stumps. It is almost like asking a man to transform the war-scarred fields around Verdun into fruitful farms. It can be accom-

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

plished, but only after crucifying toil. Like most of the dirty work of America, this job of salvaging soil for civilization fell to the lot of the new American. Who else would do it?

At first it was the logger who became the settler. It sometimes happened that after a lumber camp "moved on" or "shut down" a few of the Scandinavian or German workmen would buy a little cut-over land and settle down. There would only be one or two families at first, but gradually others would join them. So a few shacks in a clearing developed into a community. As time went on, the number of farms in the county steadily increased. By the beginning of this century there were 885. Through back-breaking industry, bestumped land was converted into cleared farms. Then churches, schools and trim, two-storied houses appeared. Thus did civilization come to Price.

As the forests were depleted, it slowly dawned on men that the permanent industry of the region was not lumbering but farming, and so colonizing companies were formed. Real estate men bought up tremendous tracts of land from the logging companies and took over the task of settling them. At present the future of Price County is largely in the hands of these men. Land companies now own about one-third of the entire county.

To-day it is not the logger, but largely the immigrant from our industrial centers and the surplus farmers from the older established agricultural communities who are settling in Price County. Of the two, foreigners are numerically the larger group. The new American is attracted to Price by advertisements in foreign-language newspapers, especially those circulated in Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, and by the letters of relatives who have already settled in the county. Little attempt is made to attract the alien just arrived from Europe. Usually his psychology does not enable him to make a success of pioneer farming. He still believes that the streets of our cities are paved with gold, so why clear stumps? The land companies go, therefore, to the stock-yards, the steel mills and the coal mines. By the time the immigrant reaches these centers he has found out the truth about American industrial life, and is more ready to turn to farming.

At present the majority of new Americans moving into Price are Bohemians. Most of them have come within the last five years, yet they now form the largest foreign-born group in the county. In addition, there are Germans, Scandinavians, Finns and Poles, as well as Hollanders, Danes, Hungarians and many others. Fourteen foreign nationalities each have fifty or more representatives in

PRICE COUNTY AND THE IMMIGRANT

the county! Of these immigrant settlers 90 per cent are European peasants who were farmers in their own country. They are "country-minded" and because of European traditions, are accustomed to old-world methods of agriculture. For this reason they do not readily learn our modern ways of land-clearing and farming. Americanization of the best sort is sorely needed here. Most of the Bohemians, Finns and Poles are distrustful of all things American. As they live in isolated communities, they are hard to "get at." Many subscribe only to foreign-language newspapers that make little or no effort to acquaint their readers with the good points of Ameri-



PLOWING UP PRICE

A usual farmer in a usual field with the usual number of stones

can life. Sometimes, indeed, these publications antagonize by destructive criticism. No wonder these folks are "unapproachables."

Beside immigrants, native Americans are also settling in the county. They, too, are attracted by advertisements or by the "knowing some one" method. A number are men who have operated farms for others in the rich agricultural areas further south, but have finally moved into Price because a man can at least own his own home even though the farms are small. Some of these newcomers have never farmed before, but have been forced to go on the land because of the industrial depression.

At present there are nearly 2,000 farms in Price County. Of these, seven out of ten are manned by Europeans born abroad, mainly Bohemians, Germans, Swedes, Norwegians and Finns. In

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

some rural communities the foreign nationalities are mixed, but in others they are mainly of one or two races. There is a tendency toward clannishness, especially among the Norwegians, Swedes and Bohemians, so that as yet the races have not mingled to any extent.

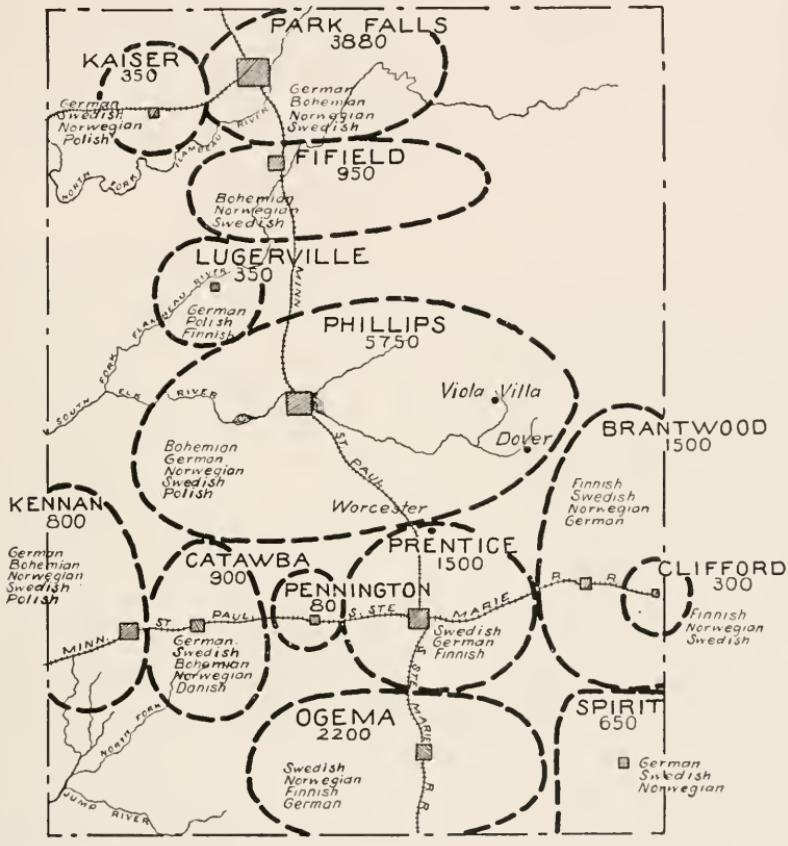
A JOURNEY THROUGH PRICE COUNTY

The county map on the opposite page shows the racial hodge-podge. In the southeastern part is the community of Spirit. Its population is made up not only of Norwegians, Swedes and Germans who a generation ago salvaged its rich soil from the stumps, but of new German arrivals who have recently flocked in from Chicago. The community has a coöperative creamery which is remarkable because it demonstrates that Norwegians and Swedes can work together if they will. Northwest from Spirit is Ogema, located on the railroad. It is strongly Swedish, and as ages run in Price County is a venerable community—in its forties. The Jump River section to the west is still undeveloped and has a great deal of timber land. Here and there a few settlers are scattered about in the wilderness.

Going north by rail from Ogema, one comes to Prentice. Here again Swedes and Norwegians live side by side. The village of Prentice, with its population of 600, illustrates the effect of a dying lumber industry. At one time this village was much larger than it is now. There was a big saw-mill and a tannery which employed 1,500 men. Gradually lumbering passed. The tannery burned down twelve years ago, and was not replaced. The large saw-mill shut down. For a time the village was "dead," but with the development of farming there has begun a renewed stirring of life. Last year a coöperative creamery, organized six years ago, did a quarter of a million dollars' worth of business, and quite recently an excelsior factory has been started.

To the east of Phillips are first Brantwood and then Clifford, both primarily Finnish communities originally settled by loggers who later decided to clear land and commence farming. Many of these men still work in the woods during the winter months to make enough hard cash to carry them through the year. These two communities are composed of compact groups largely out of touch with American ways of life.

Going west from Prentice instead of east, one finds a very young community known as Pennington. A saw-mill runs during the summer, but farming is the chief source of income. The commun-



0 1 2 3 4 5 6
SCALE of MILES

IMPRESSIONISTIC MAP OF THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES IN PRICE COUNTY GIVING
THEIR POPULATION AND THE MAJOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE GROUPS IN EACH
Price County is a racial caldron into which many nationalities have been poured, but as
yet they are unfused

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

ity is composed of various nationalities, with native-born Americans in the majority. Kennan and Catawba, lying still further to the west, are communities with good farm lands. Germans predominate in both localities. Community spirit in Catawba is good, but in Kennan there has been trouble between the folk of the village and the open country over the operation of the coöperative creameries, with the result that the farmers have been going to Catawba to trade.



THE COUNTY FAIR

One of the social events of the year in Price County

Traveling northeast toward Phillips from Catawba, one notices a great change in the country. From cleared fields and frame farm-houses the landscape changes to scrub woods interspersed with squatters' huts and here and there a farmhouse of the more modern type.

The community of Phillips is a great conglomeration of peoples. In certain sections, progressive Americans live side by side with newly arrived Bohemians, while other neighborhoods are made up entirely of one race. A Danish settlement of twenty families is one of the most interesting of such neighborhoods in the county. The people are progressive, the leadership is good, the spirit is splendid.

PRICE COUNTY AND THE IMMIGRANT

On the other hand, Viola Villa to the east of Phillips is a Bohemian neighborhood unprogressive and aloof. The people have little desire to mingle with other races or to learn American methods. Not even the County Agent can "get in" there.

Between Phillips and Fifield only a small portion of the land is farmed on account of the unfertile soil. Much of the region is covered by light second-growth timber. The village of Lugerville, located here, is an unusually neat lumber mill center, with rows of four-room cottages and green gardens. The people are largely German and Bohemian. North and south of the village are two



RESIDENTS OF PRICE

Typical inhabitants of the county working together on a coöperative telephone line

new settlements more or less alike. Both are made up of native-born Americans recently arrived from Indiana and Illinois, induced to come here by real estate advertisements. Some have never farmed before and are having a stern struggle. Many of them have spent all their savings to buy a little land in the brush, and must work at road-building or in lumber camps until they have enough money on hand to go on with land-clearing.

The village of Fifield, one of the oldest in the county, is dying with the lumber industry. Farming is really just beginning in this community and its initial stages are hard and discouraging. Round about the village are some cleared farms and neat houses. Next come the shacks of the new arrivals still in the land-clearing stage, many of them belonging to Bohemians recently drawn here by the

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

advertisements of land promoters. Beyond is the cut-over land, black and desolate, while further westward and eastward stands the uncut timber.

Far in the north of Price is Park Falls, the largest and busiest center in the county, an unusually progressive place. There is a Chamber of Commerce with an active full-time secretary. The foreign nationalities are Germans, Scandinavians and Bohemians, but the largest proportion of the population consists of native-born Americans. To the east of Park Falls the county is still timbered. Here are only a few scattered settlers. To the west, however, is Kaiser, one of the best farming communities in Price. The soil is very fertile and the farmers are above the average in intelligence and community spirit. The nationalities are mainly Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians and Poles.

On the whole, Price County is sparsely populated. The average density is less than fifteen persons per square mile. This compares with 115 in Sheboygan County, and an average of forty-eight for the state. Park Falls, which has about 2,700 inhabitants, is technically the only town in the county. Because the United States Census defines a town as a community whose population lies between 2,500 and 8,000, Phillips, the county seat, with a population of only 2,200 falls under the census classification of a village. For the purposes of a county survey, however, Phillips must be considered in the same category with Park Falls, since it resembles Park Falls far more closely than Prentice, the next largest village, which has a population of only 600. Both Park Falls and Phillips have, therefore, been classified as towns in the tables which appear in the second part of this volume. Even though Phillips be considered as an urban community, the rural inhabitants of Price are approximately 15,500, or more than four-fifths of the county's 18,500 population. This is double the proportion found in Sheboygan.

Price County, then, is a sort of racial caldron into which many nationalities have poured, but which has not yet fused them. It could almost be called a miniature Balkans. The racial groups are unusually varied. On the average one man in four is foreign-born, two are native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, one is of American stock. What part is the Church going to play in fusing these diverse elements into a homogeneous, progressive and Christian whole?

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AGENCIES IN SHEBOYGAN

IN Sheboygan the social atmosphere is a combination of German and American influences. Of course, there are Dutch strains in the county, but they are relatively minor. German is, however, a potent element in Sheboygan's community life. The language of the Fatherland is still spoken not only in the home but also at many public gatherings. In parts of the region it would be difficult for a merchant to make a success of his business if he could only speak English. Even some of the ministers cannot talk the English language, and many church services are still held in the German tongue.

The life of the people revolves around four institutions: the church, the coöperative societies, the schools and the dance-hall. True, there are other agencies—lodges, bands, movies and the like, but on the whole their influence is not to be compared with the four. Since the church will be taken up in detail in succeeding chapters, that aspect of social life will not be discussed here.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Probably the most distinctive characteristic of the county's community life is the coöperative movement. According to lists compiled by the Wisconsin Division of Markets, forty-three of the cheese factories in the region are coöperative, which is approximately one-third of the total in the county. Most of these coöperative factories are small, and are located at convenient cross-roads. As a rule only one manager, the cheese-maker, is employed. He generally receives 4 per cent of the receipts of the factory for his services. There have been many struggles and not a few failures on the part of these coöperative enterprises, especially in 1920 when there was stress and difficulty on account of the fall in cheese prices, but on the whole the degree of success has been unusual. Beside the cheese factories, there are twenty-two local equities with a total of 1,000 members. These locals are organized mainly to ship live stock and to purchase supplies such as food and coal. In addition, there were in 1917 eleven coöperative telephone companies and four mutual fire insurance companies.

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The largest coöperative enterprise in the county is the Wisconsin Cheese Producers' Federation with headquarters at Plymouth. This organization is a coöperative selling agency. Since joining hands quite recently with a similar association in Minnesota it is the largest cheese-distributing agency in the world. The history of the enterprise is of interest because it indicates the spirit behind much of the coöperative movement in Sheboygan.

The father of the Wisconsin Cheese Producers' Federation was Henry Krumrey. He was born in Sheboygan on February 3, 1852, in a log cabin of the old settler type. As a boy Henry became affiliated with the Republican party and entered polities at an early age. He started out as a supervisor, served as town treasurer and finally was made Chairman of the city of Plymouth. In 1900 he was elected a member of the State Assembly and eight years later he became the State Senator from his district.

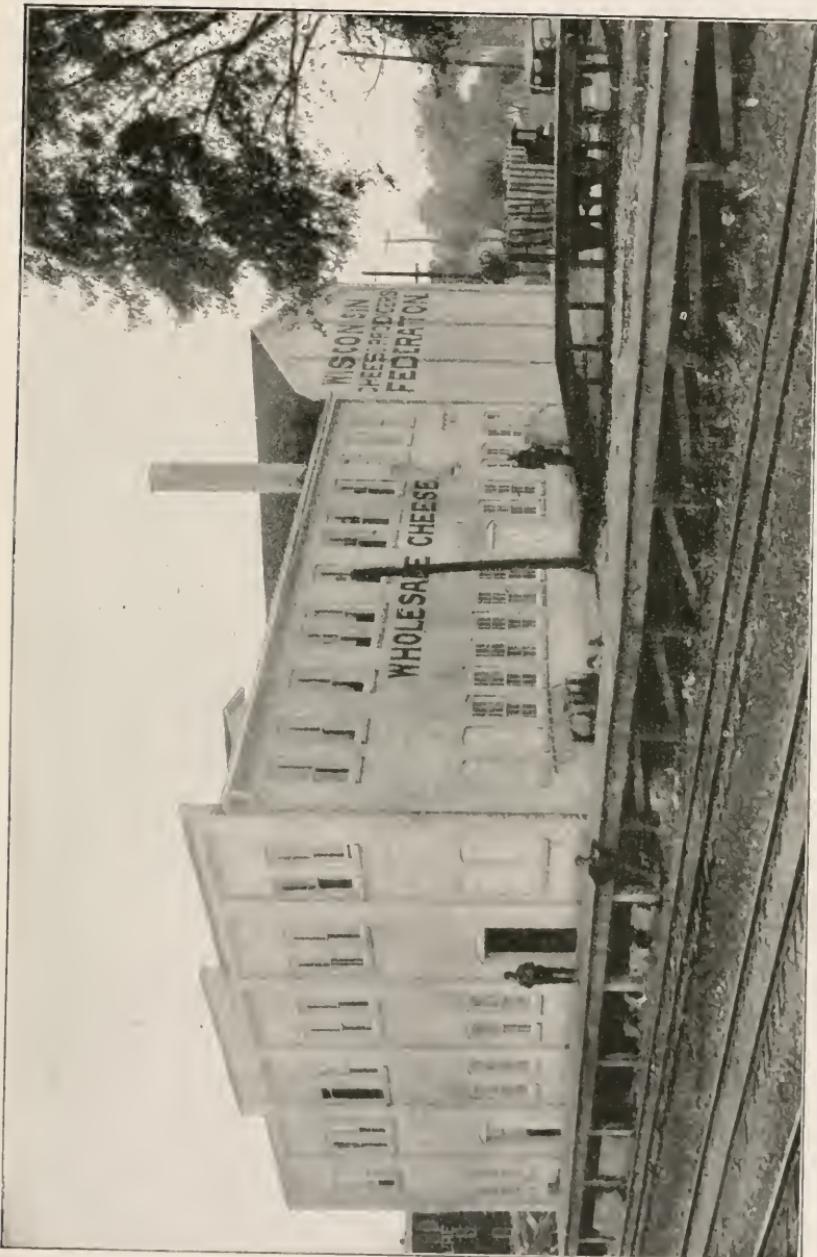
It was not, however, until the spring of 1911 that Mr. Krumrey first became actively interested in coöperation. In that year he began quietly an investigation into the wholesale and retail prices of cheese. All his life Mr. Krumrey had been a dairy farmer, and like others in the neighborhood he had sold his cheese through the Plymouth Cheese Board, which was a body of dealers who met daily and set the price of the product not only for the region but practically for the entire nation. Suddenly it dawned upon Mr. Krumrey that he was getting less than half as much for his cheese as the ultimate consumer had to pay for it. For more than a year he studied carefully the fluctuations of the market, and came to the conclusion that the farmers were not getting what they deserved.

On June 22, 1912, after the publication of a rather heated article in which he embodied the findings of his investigation, Mr. Krumrey called a meeting of dairy farmers. In spite of the fact that there was but two days' notice, and that the meeting was held in the middle of the haying season, a thousand farmers turned out. Encouraged by this enthusiastic support, Mr. Krumrey took the matter before the State Board of Public Affairs. This body called a meeting of farmers and dealers and held hearings. The facts revealed by this inquiry so incensed Mr. Krumrey that he decided to organize a cheese-selling system of his own.

THE SHEBOYGAN CHEESE PRODUCERS' FEDERATION

Under his direction a great mass meeting was held in Plymouth the following February, at which a set of resolutions was passed

SOCIAL AGENCIES IN SHEBOYGAN



THE HOME OF THE WISCONSIN CHEESE PRODUCERS' FEDERATION

One of the largest cheese distributing agencies in the world

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strongly urging that the farmers sell their own cheese. Many thought the matter would die here. It was easy enough for a gathering of farmers to adopt a series of resolutions, but the Plymouth Cheese Board was a powerful body and not inclined to welcome a rival organization. Those who felt, however, that the movement would fail left out of account the personality of Krumrey. Within six months he had whipped into shape the Sheboygan Cheese Producers' Federation, so that it was ready to do business. But just as operations were about to start, the Federation found itself unable to buy a warehouse in which to store its cheese.

Undaunted, the indefatigable Mr. Krumrey determined that the farmers should build a \$20,000 warehouse of their own. The stockholders of the Federation were asked to buy shares at ten dollars each. Within a week half the capital stock of the new enterprise had been subscribed; and before a year had passed the Federated Farmers' Warehouse Company had completed its new building. The parent organization then rented it, paying 5 per cent on the investment, the stockholders of the warehouse agreeing to sell the property to the Federation at any time.

By April Fool's Day, 1914, the warehouse was ready and the cheese began to pour in from the forty-three coöperative factories that had agreed to become members. The Federation, which received the cheese ready-made from these subsidiary organizations, prepared the product for shipment by grading, paraffining and inspecting it. But there were no orders. As the organization was entirely unknown to big wholesalers, the cheese began piling up. Soon the warehouse was bulging, and no outlet was in sight. In the face of this seemingly insuperable difficulty some of the farmers deserted the Federation, but the great majority were loyal and stuck. In desperation Mr. Krumrey hit upon the plan of sending letters to the big wholesalers, telling them frankly just what the Federation had done. In this way he was able to dispose of a few cars of cheese at shaded prices. Then he took a flying trip to various parts of the country to interview dealers and acquaint them with his plans.

That did the trick. In the following summer some of the biggest grocers and wholesalers in the country were among the customers of the Federation. In 1914, the Federation's first year, it had handled more than six million pounds of cheese at a cost to the farmer of a little more than one-fifth of a cent a pound. In 1920 the amount was fourteen million pounds, and on July 1, 1921, instead of forty-three factories, 120 were members, located not only

SOCIAL AGENCIES IN SHEBOYGAN

in Sheboygan County but in other sections of the state as well. According to a report from the State University:

The Wisconsin Cheese Producers' Federation is one of the most successful and commendable examples of farmers' coöperation in the United States. A comparison of its costs of doing business with those of other leading kinds of farmers' coöperative companies shows that next to the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, which is the largest single and most successful farmers' coöperative company in the United States, the Federation has the lowest operating costs.

One of the most significant facts about the Federation is that it is getting nationalities to work together in a common purpose, for Hollanders as well as Germans are affiliated with the movement.

THE SCHOOLS OF SHEBOYGAN

The schools of Sheboygan are unusually active, not only as institutions of learning but in their social activities as well. Some have agricultural clubs of various kinds, and a number hold successful community fairs. The County Superintendent of Schools and the Farm Demonstration Agent work in close coöperation. All but two schools have domestic science courses, and every school in the county offers courses in agriculture that are bearing fruit in improved methods of production.

Throughout the county there are more than a hundred elementary schools and five high-schools, not including those in Sheboygan City. In 1919 the total high-school enrollment was approximately 600, and that of the elementary schools 4,700. About 200 teachers are employed, and the total budget for the year ended June 30, 1920, was one-third of a million dollars. One county superintendent and two supervising teachers direct the educational work. Their influence has been producing excellent results in making schools which are really efficient public servants.

Sheboygan has a training-school for high-school graduates, and also a model grade school which serves as a laboratory for inexperienced teachers. The Mission House, an academy, college and theological seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, with sixty students, is located in the open country northwest of Sheboygan City. There is also an academy at Cedar Grove under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church.

As might be expected in a locality so largely Lutheran, Sheboygan has a number of schools connected with its churches. For example, there are eight parochial schools. Both German and Eng-

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lish are used in these schools and the pupil is generally carried to the sixth or eighth grades. In three schools the pastor is the teacher, while the five others employ special instructors. In addition, twenty-two churches have religious day schools which meet once or twice a week, and report a total of nearly 500 pupils, while twelve churches conduct summer schools lasting from four to nine weeks. Of these all but two use the German language exclusively. Instruction in the various schools is almost entirely along religious



A TYPICAL SCHOOL HOUSE IN SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

Buildings such as this are far above the average for rural communities

lines, except in the parochial schools where some secular instruction is provided. But even here so much time is spent on religious subjects that the secular branches suffer. Moreover, as part of the instruction is in German, these schools tend to perpetuate the use of German long after English should have entirely taken its place.

With the exception of the older age groups, the percentage of boys and girls in Sheboygan who attend school follows fairly closely the average for the state. Of children fourteen and fifteen years of age, about four-fifths attend, but only one out of eight of the young people between eighteen and twenty are in institutions of

SOCIAL AGENCIES IN SHEBOYGAN

learning. This is less than the average for the state. For a county as rich as Sheboygan this proportion is too low.

There are, however, excellent opportunities for those who do leave school to continue their education, especially along agricultural lines. The State University has an unusually live extension department, and even conducts Mothers' Clubs in the county. Moreover, the agricultural experiment stations scattered about the state not only afford expert advice on agricultural matters, but offer classes in farming and dairying for adults.



A CHURCH SCHOOL

Sheboygan County has eight parochial schools

Considering the wealth of Sheboygan, there are relatively few social institutions in the county beside the Church, the school, the coöperatives and the dance-hall. There are thirty-nine lodges with 1,800 members, but only six of them own their own buildings, and on the average only about 500 people attend the meetings, which are usually held but once a month. In addition, there are twenty-seven other social organizations such as commercial clubs, parent-teachers' associations, American Legion posts, home makers' clubs, a Deutsches Verein, and the like. The German love of music expresses itself in eight bands, six orchestras, and three community singing organizations. On the whole, however, the number of such agencies is inadequate. Indeed, the greatest social need of Sheboy-

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gan at the present time is for non-commercial recreational facilities, especially for young people. One community in the county has absolutely no recreational facilities, while two others have only privately run dance-halls. The commercial dance-hall is the main recreational outlet for the entire county. There are thirty-four such halls in the rural areas, beside a number in Sheboygan City which are attended in part by folks from the surrounding country-side. Many persons in the various communities deplore the influence of the dance-hall, but until some other agency arises to take its place, it will probably persist. Young people will be young people. They crave social life and recreation. Why shouldn't the Church provide such facilities instead of leaving the field in the hands of commercial agencies?

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL LIFE IN PRICE COUNTY

IN Price county alone there exist as many different kinds of rural social arrangements as are found in some states. Here and there among the tracts of timber one comes upon a lumber camp where an isolated group of loggers ply their migratory trade, and there are a few more permanent centers, as Park Falls, with its lumber mills and paper plant, in which the inhabitants are still largely dependent upon logs for a living. But the lumber life in Price is passing. The future of the county is the farm.

Already there are sections of Price whose cleared fields, neat barns and white churches look like parts of Sheboygan. Here the soul-racking job of exterminating stumps has been completed and the people can devote themselves exclusively to their cattle and crops. Some of these communities, especially those in the lower half of the county, have been agricultural for decades. A number of them are rich and prosperous and certain aspects of community life are relatively well developed. For example, the six communities of Brantwood, Catawba, Clifford, Kennan, Phillips and Park Falls combined operate three creameries, five stores, one cheese factory and a shipping association, all on a coöperative basis. In addition, there is a telephone company in this locality owned by 250 stockholders.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The development of the coöperative movement in these communities is particularly significant in view of the racial conglomeration. It is drawing races together. Take the case of the highly successful community store organized fourteen years ago at Brantwood and known as the Brantwood Supply Company, where more than 225 farmers do business and the net profits of which in 1920 were \$14,000. All the nationalities in the community take part in this enterprise. Numerically the Finns are the most important group of stockholders, as is but natural, since they comprise the largest racial element in the section. But the other races in the community

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

are equally interested. Although the Norwegians, Swedes, Danes and Americans together only make up 20 per cent of the membership, they have invested as much money in the enterprise as all the Finns combined. The manager of the store is not a Finn but a Dane, and the meetings of the association are held in English, although a Finnish interpreter is needed.

Racial understanding, to which these coöperative enterprises contribute, is one of the crying needs of Price County. Although there are a dozen different nationalities in the county, most communities are made up mainly of two or three foreign language



INSIDE THE BRANTWOOD COÖPERATIVE STORE

This store sells everything from toothpicks to coal, and in 1920 cleared \$14,000 doing it

groups. Some of these do not work well together. Two nationalities may live side by side and yet largely go their separate ways. Each talks its own language, each attends its own church, each looks more or less askance at the other. Agencies are needed that will get these people to work together. Coöperative enterprises help, but they are not enough. Here is an opportunity for the Church to apply the principle of Christian brotherhood and take the lead in bringing about racial understanding.

THE NEW SETTLER ON THE SOIL

Always in the background of Price's more prosperous farming communities are scrub woods and cut-over lands. Here new set-



Stage I—The war on the stump begins



Stage II—Hundreds of stumps still to subdue

THE EVOLUTION OF A PRICE COUNTY FARM

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

Settlers are waging their war with the stump, and life is harsh and unrelenting. If the settlers are to win their battle they must toil from early morning until late at night. Small wonder there is little community organization in these sections. Men have no time or money for such things. The contrast between this life and that of an older settlement is described in Louis Hemon's "Maria Chapdelaine" when the old mother complains to her husband:

Frozen in winter, devoured by flies in summer; living in a tent on the snow or in a log cabin full of chinks that the wind blows through, you like that better than spending your life on a good farm, near shops and houses. Just think of it: a nice bit of level land without a stump or a hollow, a good warm house all papered inside, with cattle pasturing or in the stable; for people well stocked with implements and who keep their health could anything be better or happier?

This is the contrast that one notices in Price—established communities scattered along the railroad tracks, but the shacks of new settlers in the clearings.

Take a typical example of the bitter struggle that awaits the settler. Jan Prochazka, who used to be a farmer in Europe but who is now working in the stockyards of South Chicago, reads an advertisement in his Bohemian paper describing in glowing terms the advantages of becoming a settler in Price County. He is sick of the stench of the stockyards. This endless and monotonous butchering of beef is so different from anything he has previously known. He decides at least to go and look at this agricultural paradise called Price. On his arrival Jan is met not by an American but by a fellow-countryman who speaks his own language and seems to appreciate his own problems. This man tells him that he, too, was a worker in the city some years ago like himself, but since coming to Price he has been able to wrest a farm and a home from these stump lands, and he assures Prochazka of his ability to do the same, of course leaving the difficulties out of the picture. The two spend several days looking over available land and talking together. Finally a decision is reached. They repair to the land office to sign the necessary papers and Jan makes a deposit on forty or eighty acres of cut-over land.

THE FIGHT FOR LIFE

But this beginning may not be a good start. Prochazka may have bought more land than he can afford, or the land he did buy may not be of the best, or the price he paid may have been exorbitant.



Stage III—Fertile fields entirely cleared of the dead forest's dry bones



Stage IV—The final victory over the stump—a neatly painted frame house and a new barn
THE EVOLUTION OF A PRICE COUNTY FARM

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tant, because obviously the Bohemian agent demands a "divvy" from the real estate men for his part in the deal. But assuming that the land is farmable and that Jan has enough capital to continue, the first three years in this cut-over country means a life of toil for Jan and his wife and children such as city dwellers do not know. There are stumps to clear, a shack to build, ditches to dig, tools to buy; there are fences to make, a cow to be purchased, a barn to erect, and then there is the mortgage to meet just at a time when no money is coming in. In order to raise the necessary cash, Jan may have to go back to the city to earn what money he can, while his wife stays in the clearing and does hard chores with hands cracked by the cold.

To say the least, this life is primitive. There are cabins in the pure air of Price County in which the stench is as bad as in any city tenement and where pale and dirty children play amid the chickens over filthy floors. No wonder the weak quit the struggle—and they do quit. Scattered here and there over Price one sees boarded-up shacks—silent, tar-papered monuments to dead hopes.

Those who weather the storm have endurance. One cannot drive through the rugged highways or pass by the meager homes and hard-wrought fields of Price County without a keen sense of the terrific effort and human sacrifice which has brought this pioneer region to its present stage of development. The unpainted homes and unsheltered machinery, the poor fences, the shabbily dressed school children, the hard, drawn lines on the faces of the fathers and mothers, give evidence of the bitter struggle through which these people have passed. In this country the mastery of the soil has sapped life of much of its charm, but on the other hand it has developed here a faithfulness and a devotion to family unsurpassed.

Stop at the gate of that small, unpainted and unembellished farm with the sign on the gate-post "Melons for Sale." The farmer's wife, shriveled with years of grinding care, comes to the door. She points with pride to the luscious yellow nutmegs, and her face lights up at the slightest word of praise. But do not simply praise her melons. Chat with her a moment about the farm, the crops, the orchard and the children, and one will find that out of the struggles and privations has been born a superb courage.

STATE AGENCIES HELPING THE NEWCOMERS

In the face of these facts is it necessary to ask what are the social needs of Price County? Clearly they are for agencies that

SOCIAL LIFE IN PRICE COUNTY

will give practical assistance and advice to the new-comer, and for organizations which will add a little warmth to the cold and harshness of shack life. The State has done a great deal. The Director of Immigration of the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture has taken a hand in the matter of land misrepresentation, and is doing a valuable service by defending immigrants against unscrupulous land dealers. For example, inquirers regarding land who get into touch with this department are furnished with the following form of certificate:

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
IMMIGRATION DIVISION

Directing Certificate

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The bearer of is in communication with this department, and looking for a farm home in County, Wisconsin. It is our purpose to keep in touch with him after his removal to this state, to note his progress, and learn if he is fully satisfied with the business relations he may have with any person or firm selling him land.

Any courtesies extended him will be appreciated.

..... 192.

C. P. Norgord, Commissioner.

Director of Immigration.

Public health is another pressing problem in the solution of which the State has been active. There is a county health officer, and the State Department of Health works through the schools in order to get its gospel of cleanliness across to the people. A nurse is required by law to make the rounds of the region at least once a year, and the Sanitary Engineering Bureau of Health which has carried on a campaign of education and has made investigations into the problems of water supply in many parts of the state. In Price County this agency has been at work in Phillips and Park Falls. Education along sanitary lines is urgently needed in Price County. Many of the pioneer farmers have yet to learn that cleanliness is next to godliness.

There are other State agencies, such as a county agricultural agent partially supported by the State, whose job it is to assist settlers with their farming problems. The ninety public schools in the county also help in many ways. Nearly all of the communities report that the schools are open to the public for recreational

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purposes, while a few of the teachers have organized evening classes to teach the foreign-born adult to read, write and speak English. In addition, the University of Wisconsin conducts successful Home-Makers' Clubs in the county. Certainly the commonwealth is doing a great deal for the new Americans on her soil.

These State agencies, though excellent, are not sufficient. The



A SCHOOL IN PRICE COUNTY

The schools of the county are doing much to help assimilate the new Americans

County Agent, for example, sees Jan Prochazka at work in his recently cleared garden patch, and calls out: "What kind of potatoes did you plant this year?"

"Me don't know," answers Jan with a shrug of his shoulders, coming out to the road. "But he all rite."

"Have you any potato rust?" says the agent, getting out of his machine.

"No!" is the indignant reply.

The County Agent picks up a potato and points to the rust spot. "What do you call that?" he asks.

SOCIAL LIFE IN PRICE COUNTY

"Dirt," says Jan. "See he rub off."

What can the County Agent do? He cannot spend hours converting one man. He has the 2,000 farmers of the county to look after. Yet it takes time to introduce new methods of agriculture to peasant-minded souls. Only intensive and sympathetic instruction will convert Jan Prochazka to twentieth century ways of agriculture, and even then the process will be slow.

Price County needs community organizations with trained leadership which with patience and understanding will introduce American ways and methods to the new-comers on her soil. At present, there is practically no organization in Price County with the exception of the State agencies which is helping the settler in his bitter battle. As for social life, except for the public schools, it is virtually limited to the lodge and the dance-hall. As in Sheboygan, dancing is the main recreational outlet of the county.

Here are both opportunities and responsibilities for the Church to put on a community program in Price County to meet the social as well as the religious needs of these new American settlers, in much the same way that our great institutional churches meet the needs of polyglot peoples in the congested industrial centers.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCHES IN SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

THE churches of Sheboygan illustrate the result of intensive religious cultivation along the line of church worship. To a remarkable extent the people of Sheboygan go to church. Possibly four-fifths of all the farmers in the county are members of some denomination. The membership rolls reveal that nearly 2,300 heads of families who make their living from farming are members of a Protestant church. Besides the Protestant there is also the Roman Catholic constituency which is large and growing, and now reaches more than 800 families, probably three-quarters of whom are farmers. As there are less than 3,700 farms in the county there is evidently an unusually small number of unchurched farm families in the region. Indeed, throughout the entire area the Protestant church membership is as large as 35 per cent of all the inhabitants. Out of a town and country population of roughly 28,000 there are 10,000 Protestant church members! More than that, the people take a real interest in their churches. Ninety-five per cent of the members are "active," that is, they either attend church or contribute to its support. This is a splendid showing.

COMPETITIVE CHURCHES

But not only is the membership large—it is steadily growing. In the face of a stationary rural population the number of Protestant church members during the last decade increased 13 per cent. During the past year alone the net gain was nearly 4 per cent. This is a remarkable record. Surprising as are these gains in themselves, they are the more astonishing because they are being made in the teeth of tremendous competition. Sheboygan is highly over-churched. In this one county alone there are fifty-nine Protestant churches, twelve Roman Catholic, beside one Christian Science congregation. This means that there is more than one church to every 400 men, women and children. Of course, not every church in the county is gaining. During the year prior to the survey nine Protestant churches, or 15 per cent, showed a net loss in member-

THE CHURCHES IN SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

ship, and twelve churches, or 21 per cent, remained practically stationary. But thirty-eight, or 64 per cent, showed a gain, and of these growing churches ten made a gain of more than 10 per cent. This is a noteworthy achievement, especially as it is being made amid the sort of withering competition which in most American communities would kill off all but the strongest churches. Why is this not the case in Sheboygan? The answer is found in the religious soil of the county and in the way in which it is being cultivated.

THE RELIGIOUS SOIL OF SHEBOYGAN

Sheboygan County is an unusually rich field for the Church. The attitude of veneration and respect for the House of God which



SHEBOYGAN'S CHURCHES AT THEIR BEST

such a large number of early settlers brought with them still lives in the hearts of the people. As a result, the Church to-day retains much of its old time influence upon the lives of the inhabitants and with it the tradition of church-going.

Objection may be made that this explains the large number of church members, but not the large number of churches. That phenomenon, too, has its roots in the racial make-up of the people. As was pointed out in Chapter III, Sheboygan was settled by several different national groups. There were the north and south Germans, the Hollanders and Irish, beside the American settlers who came to Wisconsin from New England and other parts of the east. This is the key to the denominational puzzle. Each racial group has

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

demanded its own particular type of service. Out of the fifty-nine Protestant churches forty are chiefly German in their origin. These are mainly Lutheran, Evangelical Synod of North America, German Reformed and Evangelical Association. The five Reformed Churches in America can be traced directly to the influx of the Dutch, while the remaining fourteen, which include Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, and Congregational, can be explained primarily by the native American element in the population.

This alignment of membership according to racial lines explains the large number of different churches in the county. Because of racial differences in the population there has not been the usual tendency for members to gravitate toward the larger churches at the expense of the small. When a man changes from one denomination to another in Sheboygan, he often jumps not only across religious bounds, but across racial lines as well. The race question in these churches is clearly seen by their use of foreign languages. Seventeen churches use German for all services, while eight alternate between German and English, and five between Dutch and English. Three report church services in German, with English spoken in the Sunday schools. Clearly it would be difficult for a member of the Dutch Reformed Church to transfer his allegiance to the German Lutheran, even if he wanted to, because of the language barrier, and a native American could hardly be expected to join a German-speaking church.

MINISTERIAL CULTIVATION

Religious tradition alone cannot account for the strength of Sheboygan's churches. It is not only rich soil but intensive cultivation which has made the county religiously productive. The pastoral leadership of the churches is remarkable. The fifty-nine Protestant congregations employ forty-five pastors, all but three of whom devote their full time to the ministry. More than two-thirds reside within their own parish. True, two pastors travel sixteen miles to their churches, one coming from outside the county, and four others have to come distances of seven or eight miles, but 70 per cent live adjacent to their churches or within a short distance of them. The distribution of ministers might be so arranged that it would be unnecessary for any pastor to travel a considerable distance to his church. But so long as small churches, unable to support full-time ministers, insist on keeping up their separate organi-

THE CHURCHES IN SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

zations, or are kept alive by denominational initiative, some pastors will always have more than one church. Sheboygan is not a sinner above others in these respects. Indeed, compared with many counties, her record is unusually good. The effect of her large proportion of resident ministers is clearly seen by the gains in church membership made through confirmation and confession of faith. The churches with resident pastors had an average accession of eleven per church, while those with non-resident pastors gained but four.

Not only do the majority of churches in the county employ a full-time minister, but they give him a long enough pastorate to allow him to make his work effective. Pastoral changes are far less frequent here than in the average American county. Seventeen churches had but one pastor in the last ten years, and sixteen had but two. The effect of this policy on church growth is clearly shown by the records. In the churches whose pastors have been in charge less than five years the gain last year by confirmation or confession of faith averaged but five members, whereas in those whose pastors have been serving five or more years, the average gain was fourteen. Obviously long pastorates yield better returns in new members.

Catechetical classes also help church growth, and this, too, is one of the strong points about Sheboygan's churches. The Lutheran church especially emphasizes this type of instruction. Undoubtedly it is effective. During the year prior to the survey the twenty-four churches with such classes made an average net gain of ten members each, whereas the average for the county was but six.

On the whole, the ministers of this county are not hampered in their work by inadequate compensation. Out of forty-two full-time ministers only seven, or one-sixth, receive \$1,000 or less, while twelve are paid more than \$1,500 and two receive more than \$2,000. The average salary is about \$1,450. These figures include \$250 arbitrarily added to compensate for the cash value of free parsonages, which are furnished to all but three of the pastors in the county. These salaries are noticeably above the average for rural parishes.

The effect of a full-time resident pastor adequately compensated goes far to explain the strength and growth of Sheboygan's churches—and they are strong, not only in membership but in their total financial contributions. The entire amount of money raised by the fifty-nine Protestant churches during the year 1920 was slightly more than \$120,000. On a per capita basis this means, however, an average contribution per member of less than \$14.25. This average

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is low for so rich a region. One trouble is that money is raised almost entirely without the use of modern financial methods. Only five churches used single weekly envelopes, and ten the duplicate, while forty-four did not depend on any regular payment whatsoever. The churches should adopt more intensive methods of finance.

The total expenditures during 1920 for all purposes was roughly \$117,000. Of this amount more than \$38,000 was for missions and benevolence, while \$46,000 went for salaries, and \$38,000 for contingent expenses such as repairs, new buildings, and current needs.

Assets, therefore, loom large when the work of Sheboygan's churches is considered. The Church is a more honored institution to the majority of people than in most American communities. It is old, having been brought by early immigrant settlers. There are a high proportion of resident ministers, infrequent pastoral change, adequate salaries for ministers and a relatively large number of parsonages. Giving for church purposes is considerable, even though modern systematic financial methods are not generally used. Community conditions, too, are an asset rather than a liability to the church. There is practically no farm tenancy problem; coöperative marketing is developed to as high a degree as will be found almost anywhere in America; and the schools are in excellent condition. Agriculturally there are few more prosperous counties in the country.

Splendid as is Sheboygan's showing, the church life of the county reveals grave and fundamental weaknesses. The outstanding social needs of the county are for recreational facilities, especially for young people, and for racial amalgamation; yet in these two fields the Church has been making scarcely any contribution. Indeed, in bringing about racial understanding it has often been a hindrance rather than a help. Here are the facts.

LACK OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

The churches are doing little to meet the normal human hunger for recreation, especially for young people. Thirty-seven of the fifty-nine Protestant churches are without any other organization than the Sunday school. In the entire county there is just one organization for men, a Laymen's Luther League. There are twelve organizations for girls, but only one for boys. This is a Boy Scout group conducted by one of the town churches. In addition, there are twenty-two mixed organizations for young people—mainly religious societies. The weakness here is self-evident.

THE CHURCHES IN SHEBOYGAN COUNTY

Even the Sunday schools are not well organized. Only nine out of fifty-three have special leadership training, and eleven, or about one-fifth, have organized classes. In the whole county there are but 3,800 pupils in the Sunday schools, which is about three-eighths of the church enrollment. Of the boys and girls enrolled, only about two out of three ordinarily attend. This situation is serious, for in large part the churches recruit their new members from the



YOUNG PROCHAZKA AT THE BAT

A crying need in Sheboygan County is for organized play, especially for boys

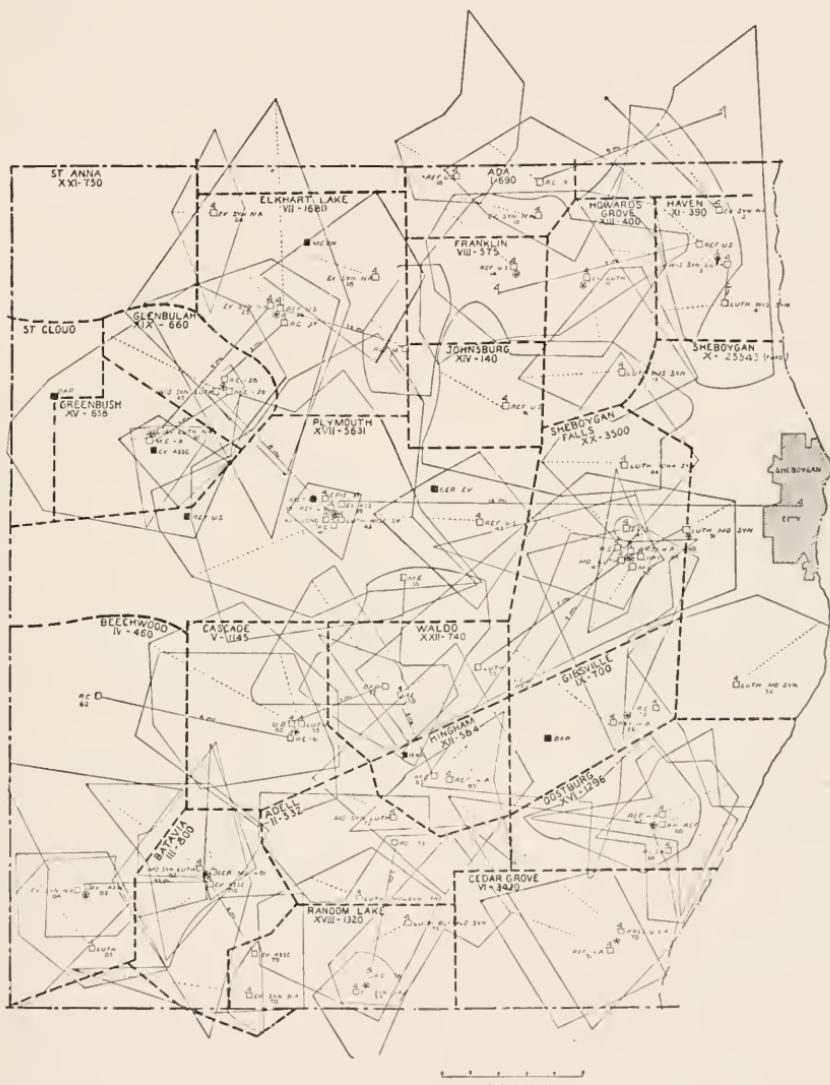
Sunday school. Last year, for example, thirty-five of Sheboygan's Sunday schools sent more than 300 of their members into the church.

Sheboygan's churches need to shake off the dust of tradition in this matter of social and recreational activities. The boys, particularly, need organized play. At present the principal agencies meeting the desire for play are commercial enterprises, notably the dance hall. Many ministers denounce in fiery terms the influence of this institution, but unfortunately they are doing little or nothing to provide more wholesome substitutes. True, it is difficult for the churches to organize societies for men and boys, but this is no reason for shirking the problem.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

Many of the churches are not in a position to meet the social needs of their community because of their buildings and equipment. Every church in the county owns its own building, but many of these buildings do not lend themselves to a broad church program. The people who erected these churches in the earlier days of Sheboygan's history believed that their religious structures should be substantial, large and permanent, but two-thirds of them were built for a day that is past, and have only one room. Even the buildings used for parochial schools and religious day-schools have very little provision for recreation. The new buildings that are erected should certainly include extra rooms which can be used for this purpose as well as for religious education.

The churches need not, however, wait for new buildings to put on a broad social program. They could make a splendid start with the money now being wasted on competitive enterprises. Thousands of dollars are being thrown away through unchristian competition between churches. The proportion of churches to the population is too high. In the towns and villages there is one Protestant church to every 414 inhabitants. This leads to cut-throat rivalry. Some of the churches in this county, rich as it is, are actually being supported in part by Home Mission aid. In 1920 four churches received \$650 from their national organizations. One at Batavia has received \$100 annually for ten years. This church is served by a minister who lives outside the county, has two other churches, and has to travel sixteen miles to this parish. Yet this church is in a community with two other Protestant churches, both having resident ministers, which means that there is one church to every 266 inhabitants. If there were the right kind of coöperation among these three churches Home Mission aid would be entirely unnecessary. The other churches receiving Home Mission aid are in the villages. One of these, at Glenbeulah, has been getting fifty dollars a year for ten years. This church has just six active members and is served by a non-resident minister who has another church. In this community there is, however, one other church whose minister is also non-resident. Why not leave this community of 660 to one denomination with a resident pastor, or else start a union or federated church? The third church, located at Greenbush, has had Home Mission aid amounting to \$200 annually for five years, yet this church has but ten active members. The fourth church, at Sheboygan Falls, has received \$200 for thirty years. It has a full-time resident pastor, but there are five other churches with full-time pastors in this village of 2,200. Two churches, indeed, are of the



KEY AND SYMBOLS

- County Boundary
- Community Boundary
- Neighborhood Boundary
- Parish Boundary
- Parish & Church Connecting Line
- Circuit of Pastor
- Hamlet
- ★ Town - over 3,000
- Church - White
- Church - Colored
- Church - White with Pastor's Residence
- Church - Colored with Pastor's Residence
- A Circuit
- Pastor's Residence without Church - White
- Pastor's Residence without Church - Colored
- Abandoned Church
- ▲ Inactive Church
- Sunday School without Church - White
- Sunday School without Church - Colored
- Church using School Bldg

MAP OF SHEBOYGAN COUNTY'S CHURCHES TOGETHER WITH PARISH BOUNDARIES
SHOWING THEIR LOCATION IN THE VARIOUS COMMUNITIES OF THE COUNTY

Sheboygan County is highly overchurched, which inevitably means wasted religious energy

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same denomination. This is an example of indefensible overlapping which is aided and abetted by Home Mission funds.

THE NEED OF AMERICANIZATION

It will be argued that many of the churches in Sheboygan County cannot be combined because of the language barrier. In part this contention is true. Many church services are still being held in a foreign tongue, yet this in itself is an indictment of the Church. The people of Sheboygan have not just arrived from the old country. Many of them have been in this country for years. The great majority are native-born; some indeed have been here two generations. Is it not time that the churches definitely adopt the policy of making English instead of a foreign language their "mother tongue?"

In the introduction of English the parochial schools should play a far larger part than they now do. At present they tend to perpetuate the use of German. For example, most of the religious and catechetical instruction is in German. Undoubtedly these schools, together with the day-schools and the summer-schools, are measuring up to their responsibility for religious education far better than in the ordinary county. Many disinterested persons feel, however, that this religious instruction has too large a part in the curriculum and that consequently pupils are handicapped in leaving these schools at the sixth or eighth grade for the public schools. Some readjustment is necessary so that the grade school subjects can be more adequately taught and also that the use of English be more markedly stressed.

The use of the English language in the churches should be encouraged not only because of its political significance, but because of its religious effect as well. Were English the language of all, it would go far to bring about the coöperation among the churches which is one of the pressing religious needs of the county. Obviously there are tasks to be performed by the Protestant churches which could be more effectively accomplished if they were working together toward common ends. At present there is an amount of hostility and opposition among churches which is anything but Christian.

The Sheboygan City Ministerial Association, which has practically all but the Lutheran ministers as members, should take the lead in forming a county ministerial association, so that the ministers outside of Sheboygan City could meet as a unit to discuss

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their work. Transportation facilities are such that meetings could be held at Sheboygan, though possibly Plymouth would serve as a more central point for these gatherings. Such an organization, whatever its name or purpose, whether it included ministers or both ministers and laymen, could undoubtedly increase the service of the churches to their communities through the discussion of mutual problems. They could unite on definite tasks, such as meeting the recreational needs of various communities. Special days could be observed simultaneously. Such an organization could coöperate with the non-religious organizations, especially the State agencies and the schools which are engaged in social service to the community. Better methods in religious education could be fostered. Boys' and girls' work could be discussed. The matter of overlapping and competition might be taken up. There is no limit to the work that the churches of Sheboygan might do, provided the religious forces worked together in Christian coöperation.

In the past Sheboygan has endeavored to solve the problems of the present with outworn methods. There has been too little change, too little adjustment, too great a wall of prejudice between denominations. The traditional task is being well done, but the wider tasks of a new day are being neglected. How long are the churches going to shirk these new fields of service?

CHAPTER VIII

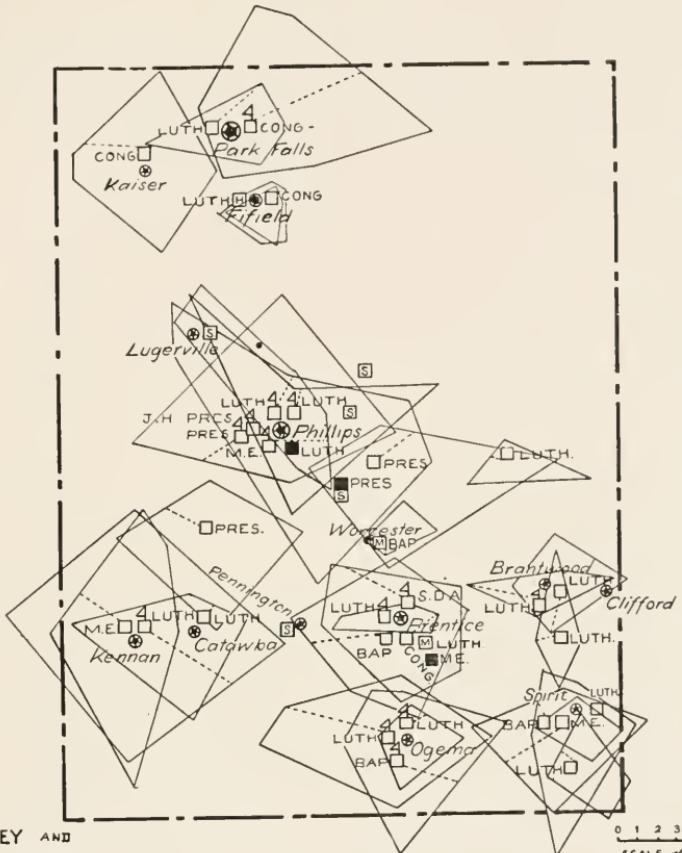
THE CHURCHES IN PRICE COUNTY

THE Protestant churches of Price County are marking time—not advancing. They are not keeping pace with the growth of population. During the last decade, the county's inhabitants increased 34 per cent but the growth in church membership was only half as great. To-day less than 10 per cent of the people are affiliated with any Protestant church, which is practically the same proportion as existed thirty years ago, when the majority of the people were engaged in the highly migratory lumber industry.

The trouble is that the Church is losing her young people, and in the long run churches cannot grow if they fail to attract the rising generation. Less than one-twentieth of the boys and girls in the county under twenty-one years of age are on the rolls of a Protestant church. A youth in Price County put the case thus to his mother: "One of the fellers at school says this God stuff is all bunk and I don't know but what he's right." This old lady can only speak of her church with tears in her eyes. "It's going down hill," she says, "because we can't get the young people to go. My boys won't go because a lot of their friends don't, and so the children are getting the habit of staying away."

It is small wonder that the young people are uninterested in the Church. Because of the lack of men and money the churches have never been able to put on a virile program. For a long time the whole county was mission territory, served by a few itinerant pastors who came to preach in the little settlements along the railroads. Gradually these mission points have grown into church organizations and buildings have been erected, until now six major Protestant denominations have thirty churches here, while the Roman Catholics have nine.

"But," some one says, "thirty Protestant churches in a county like Price! That's not bad." No, except that they are very unevenly distributed and feebly equipped. The map on the opposite page pictures graphically their ineffective arrangement. Highly over-churched sections lie next door to totally unreached regions. Religiously it is a county of extremes. There are few communities which have not both under- and over-churched sections. The



KEY AND SYMBOLS

County Boundary	Community Boundary
Community Boundary	Neighborhood Boundary
Neighborhood Boundary	Parish Boundary
Parish Boundary	Parish & Church Connecting Line
Parish & Church Connecting Line	Circuit of Pastor
Circuit of Pastor	
	Hamlet
	Villages
	Town - over 3,000
	Church - White
	Church - Colored
	Church - White with Pastor's Residence
	Church - Colored, with Pastor's Residence
	Circuit
	4 Pastor's Residence without Church - White
	4 Pastor's Residence without Church - Colored
	■ Abandoned Church
	■ Inactive Church
	■ Sunday School without Church - White
	■ Sunday School without Church - Colored
	■ Church using School Bldg.

MAP OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND SEPARATE SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN PRICE COUNTY SHOWING THEIR PARISH BOUNDARIES

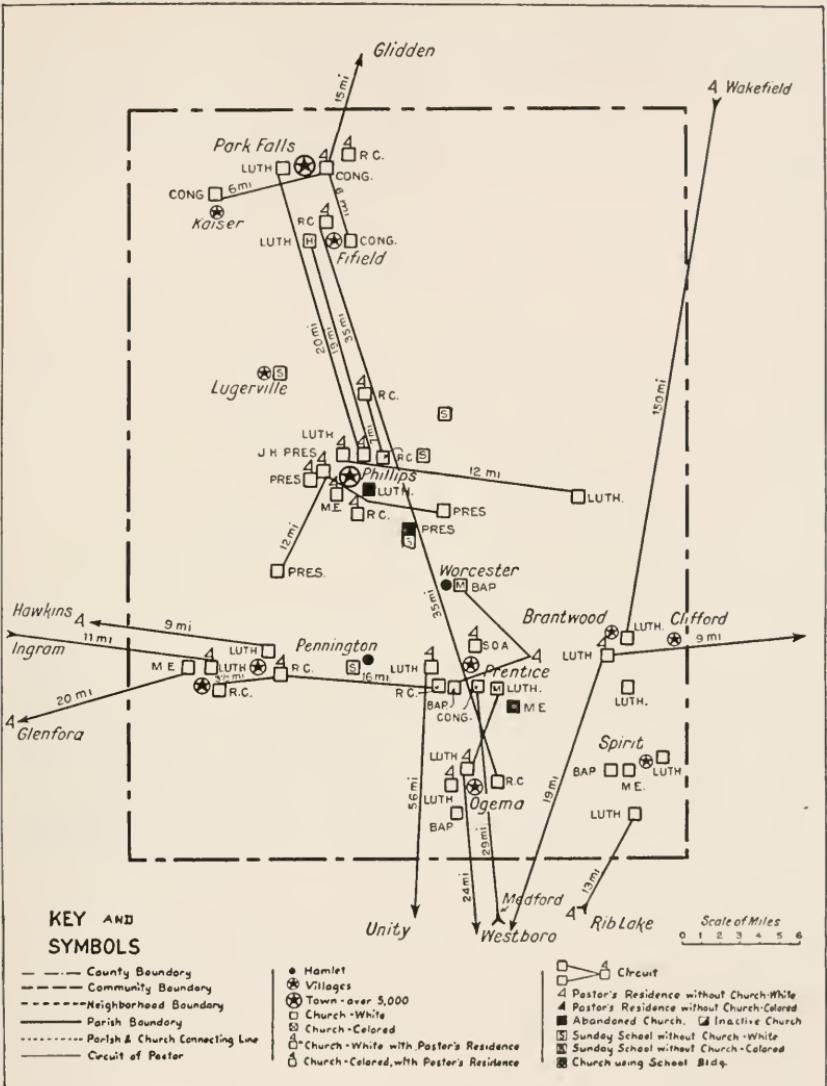
Large sections of Price County are totally unreached by the Church

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

under-churching is due largely to the poverty of the people; the over-churching primarily to the mixture of nationalities. As in Sheboygan, each race demands its traditional type of service. Six Protestant churches are almost exclusively German in their membership, ten are Scandinavian and two are Finnish; in addition, there are one Protestant and one Catholic church entirely Bohemian in membership.

Not only are the churches unevenly distributed, they are inadequately manned and equipped. The majority have only the dregs of service. Religious effort has been weak and spasmodic. In a new county like Price it is difficult to obtain pastors and harder to keep them. As a result churches have been pastorless a great deal of the time. At present one-sixth of them are without ministers. This situation is not unusual. The ministers of the county, therefore, have had to spread their service thinly because there are so many churches to be taken care of. They have to travel long distances and are not able to stay any length of time in one place. Think of it! One clergyman travels 150 miles to preach in Price! Four of the eighteen pastors serving Price churches live without the county, and nine ministers living within the area serve churches outside of it. Just five of the thirty Protestant congregations have full-time resident pastors. The others are served by clergymen with two or more charges. Two pastors follow other occupations beside the ministry. Under such circumstances how much can honestly be expected from these men? Here is one answer. A church in the county located in an enterprising, fairly well-to-do community had four families in its membership at the time of the survey. This number has now dwindled to two—one man and one woman. The people in that community are indifferent about this church, and why not? As far back as they can remember they have had a different pastor every year; and worse, he has never lived within the community but comes like a traveling salesman to visit them once a month. Naturally he cannot know the people or their problems intimately. This community needs a pastor who can devote his full time to the spiritual needs of the people.

Not only are the churches undermanned, they are poorly equipped. Just two churches in the county have any facilities for social activities. Twenty-eight out of thirty have buildings, but most of them were erected solely for one function—preaching. About half have only one room, and but a third have parsonages. Most of the churches are barnlike and forbidding. Many services are held in a foreign tongue. Six congregations use a foreign lan-



MAP OF THE PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN PRICE COUNTY
SHOWING THE CIRCUITS OF THE PROTESTANT MINISTERS

Only one-sixth of the churches have a full-time resident ministry. One pastor has to travel 150 miles in order to preach in Price

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guage exclusively, while fifteen alternate between their native tongue and English. The boys and girls learn English at school, but the God of their fathers is a foreign God to be addressed in an old world language. No wonder the young people refuse to go to church.

UNCHURCHED REGIONS

While there is an abundance of inadequate churches in parts of Price County, other sections are absolutely unchurched. As a group the Czechs are practically unreached, yet in the words of Kenneth Miller, "they are among the best of the immigrants who come to America. For the most part they have been far in advance of the other Slavic immigrants both industrially and intellectually." There are thousands of Czechs in Price and most of them do not "go in" for any church, Protestant or Catholic. The history of their nation explains this feeling. Theirs is a story of fanatical persecution, guided by the hand of the Church. Bohemia was the cradle of Protestantism. After Jan Huss, the great hero of the Czechs, was burned at the stake in 1415 for protesting against the Roman Catholic Church, a great religious war began which lasted for twelve years. The Czechs were victorious and Bohemia became a Protestant nation. Then followed the Thirty Years War, which was in effect a crusade against Protestantism. As a result, Bohemia came under Austrian rule, and 2,300,000 Czechs went into exile or perished. Those who remained in Bohemia were driven into the Catholic Church. In each village soldiers and priests came to the doors, lined up the people and marched them to mass. In order to hold their lands, the Czechs were forced to be hypocrites. Thus the Church became their greatest enemy and they learned to hate her.

The Czechs are not antagonistic to Protestantism in America, but they are apathetic. This is mainly the fault of the Church. The few Protestant churches located in communities where Bohemians have settled are small, poor affairs, unpainted and unattractive. In Bohemia nearly every village has a beautiful and artistic church. Everything in the Czech nature revolts against Price's ugly church buildings, and they refuse to attend them when the first thing that strikes the eye is a black and ugly heating stove. As a Protestant Czech leader who had held services among the Czechs throughout the United States explained it, "I could make my people worship out in the open spaces surrounded by green trees and with

THE CHURCHES IN PRICE COUNTY

the blue sky above them, but in those buildings, never." Call these people infidels if you will, but they have something which many Americans lack—a reverence for beauty.

The large numbers of Czechs as well as of other foreign-born groups in Price County constitute a ringing challenge to the Protestant Church. At present they are largely unreached, and the fault is primarily with the Church, which has been ministering to them inadequately or not at all. The Church has been allowed to get into a rut. She has worked out a traditional type of service which is now felt to be a panacea for all religious ills. Like certain kinds



A TYPICAL OPEN COUNTRY CHURCH IN PRICE

The bar across the front door is to keep nearby children from breaking into the building of patent medicine, it is supposed to be good for all patients at all times under all circumstances.

There are reasons for this. The adventurous spirits who first pressed west of the Alleghany were too few to carry their church with them. Instead, they gathered on rare occasions in the newly built homes, schools, or barns to hear the circuit rider who gave them not only sermons from his heart and his saddle bags but news of the world they had left. Thus preaching became the function of the church. As settlements became more permanent it was this idea which concreted itself in a building arranged to magnify the place of the speaker. The one-room, single-celled, auditorium church is the result.

Consider this just in relation to the Czechs. It was in their

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home land that Protestantism first struck deep root. Independent in thought, deeply religious in spirit, sensitive to beauty, loyal to their race, the Bohemians were the first to dare the power of Rome and in the teeth of opposition and oppression to build a church that



ONE STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE

Too many of the churches are unattractive

was strong and progressive. They translated the Bible into the vernacular, prepared hymn-books, catechisms and tracts. They established schools, orphanages and hospitals. They linked religion with national and daily life. It is for these things that Protestantism in Czecho-Slovakia has stood and now stands. It is the blood of political, religious and intellectual heroes that flows in the veins of the Czechs of to-day.

Yet what beauty is there in these one-room church buildings of

THE CHURCHES IN PRICE COUNTY

Price County? How much music in their wheezy organ? What help in the message of the itinerant preacher whose words are so often entirely unrelated to the life and aspirations of these people who are engaged in a new struggle for liberty and who, since coming to this country, have been free for the first time from the oppression of a church that stifled their inmost convictions?

SPECIAL MINISTRY NEEDED

The churches of Price County need a special type of ministry, one adapted to their particular needs. The social and spiritual



PRESBYTERIAN SUNDAY SCHOOL AT LUGERVILLE

Thriving Sunday Schools are the best "feeders" for the church

wants of the people fairly cry aloud. The gaps in social life are so obvious and immediate that even some of the land companies in the frontier sections of Wisconsin have put on community programs. These concerns have come to the conclusion that this type of service pays from a purely commercial point of view. Frontier life is so harsh and cruel that they cannot keep their settlers contented without some ameliorating agencies. Thus it happens that the Tomahawk Land Company, which is owned by the Bradley Lumber Company, among other activities employs a woman as a home demonstration agent and conducts a demonstration farm for the benefit

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of its settlers. The Chippewa Valley Company has developed other forms of service. For one thing, it builds houses for the pioneer out of the first payments he makes on his newly acquired farm lands, or if he desires to erect the shack himself, it furnishes him the materials at cost. The Wisconsin Colonization Company hires expert agriculturists with farm experience and university training to advise the settlers, telling them how to raise potatoes, and market crops, how to stock their farms, and to blow stumps. These men also coördinate the work of the individual farmer, buying dynamite for the settlers, putting on agricultural contests and the like.

Why should not the Church help Price's new-comers in similar ways? From one point of view it is just as much a matter of self-preservation for the churches to put on a program of this kind as for the land companies. True, it will mean an initial outlay of money on the part of the denominations, just as it has for the real estate men. The pioneers in Price are still too poor to pay adequately for this sort of service, but the time will come when they will be rich and then they will be able to repay many-fold.

As in Sheboygan, a social program could be started in Price County with the amount of money now wasted through competition. At present home mission boards alone contribute about \$2,800 to this county each year, but even these small contributions are divided among a dozen churches and in consequence the money does little good for any of them. One church amply supported would undoubtedly accomplish far better results. All but two of the aided churches are located near other churches, which means that most of them are more or less competitive. In the face of the county's needs this situation is unpardonable.

In some sections the people of Price County are well able to pay for an adequate church program. In 1920, the Protestant churches received a total contribution of nearly \$22,500. This is an average of about \$13 per member, which is doing exceedingly well for a pioneer county like Price. The amounts given vary greatly, depending upon the location of the church. On the average, town church members gave nearly \$17, and those in the villages \$12. The open country members, however, among whom are included a large number of the new settlers, were only able to contribute \$7.38, but even this amount, when the poverty of the pioneers is considered, constitutes a creditable showing. A large proportion of these contributions has, however, been wasted on competitive enterprises. For example, a village which should have one church

THE CHURCHES IN PRICE COUNTY

will have three. As a result all three churches have to struggle to maintain themselves, and their services to the community necessarily suffer.

Religious overlapping such as this can only be corrected by denominational coöperation, but at present church coöperation in Price is non-existent. The ministers and denominational leaders simply do not get together. More than that, they see no reason why they should. Even though they preach the gospel of Jesus, which in its essence is the doctrine of brotherhood, they take practically no interest in applying it except to their immediate constituency. Yet the coördination of church effort is probably the most immediate religious need in Price. Only a united church can win here.

The possibilities of a united Protestant church in Price County are almost limitless. With competition and overlapping eliminated, every community could be reached religiously and the average type of service enormously improved. Moreover, the Protestant churches working together could really tackle the question of amalgamating the polyglot population which is the county's most pressing social problem. Many families in the county know little of American ideals and to-day misunderstand the meaning of patriotism. The history of their race makes them suspicious of every form of government. Only sympathetic instruction will induce them to slough off the results of hereditary hate and distrust. The Church has a great opportunity to help in this kind of Americanization work. Although her program has been local and partisan she still has dignity and good standing in the county. It is encouraging, for example, to note that, even though the churches are not keeping pace with the population, three-fourths of them made some gain during the year previous to the survey. The churches in Price are not dead; they have simply stagnated. Were they to unite their forces, they still have the chance to take the lead in bringing about a new day in the county. The future is in their hands.

CHAPTER IX

THE RURAL CHURCH AND AMERICANIZATION

THE best of American endeavor to-day, and the worst, find expression in the various activities which have been collectively and individually labeled "Americanization." Entering daily into the vocabulary of thousands, the word has become a slogan with many meanings. To the manufacturer it implies one thing, to the teacher another, to the preacher a third. A touchstone for patriotic service, a cloak for reaction, a camouflage for selfish interests, a glorious opportunity for the extension of Christian brotherhood—all these it has come to mean, and more.

At its best, Americanization, as defined by the Carnegie Foundation in its recent series of "Americanization Studies," is "the union of native- and foreign-born in all the most fundamental relationships and activities of our national life. For Americanization is the uniting of new with native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all. Such Americanization should perpetuate no unchangeable political, domestic, and economic régime delivered once for all to the fathers, but a growing and broadening national life, inclusive of the best wherever found. With all our rich heritages, Americanism will develop best through a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both newer and older Americans in the interest of the commonweal."

AMERICANIZATION AS A RURAL PROBLEM

Americanization work conducted on this lofty level is excellent, but thus far it has been one-sided. The potential American has usually been pictured as a lumberman, a mill-hand, a factory or railroad worker. He is seldom thought of as a farmer. Yet one out of every eleven farmers in this nation is foreign-born. Every other farmer in North Dakota was born abroad, and that state, be it recalled, is the home of the Non-Partisan League, the most radical political experiment in any state of the Union. More than half the farmers in Minnesota were born on European soil, while Oregon, Washington, Montana, Michigan, Massachusetts, Nebraska,

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Iowa and Rhode Island report from one-half to one-third of their farmers as foreign-born. Five other states have a foreign-born farming population of more than one in five. Indeed, almost one-third of this country's seventeen million new Americans live outside of cities. In addition, there are another six million of immediate foreign extraction dwelling in our towns and open country.

Making Americans is, therefore, a rural as well as an urban problem, but this phase of training for citizenship has been seriously



MORGAN MEMORIAL CHURCH OF BOSTON

"In our cities great institutional churches have been built to meet the needs of polyglot peoples"

neglected by agencies for Americanization. This fact is peculiarly unfortunate. The new American in the open country is living and working at his traditional job, for usually he has been a farmer for generations. Provided he receives a helping hand over rough places, such a man is much more likely to succeed and become a fixture in the community than his cousin who has settled in some industrial center, yet relatively little time or attention has been devoted to this phase of training for citizenship.

In our congested centers, social agencies, schools and churches have seriously attacked the problem of amalgamating the new settler from overseas with the better elements of American life. Philanthropic societies have organized neighborhood houses, public schools hold factory and evening classes, while great institutional

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churches have been built, designed to meet the social and recreational cravings of the new-comer as well as his strictly religious needs. These and other similar agencies have been doing excellent service in bringing about racial understanding. In our rural communities, however, very little training in citizenship has been undertaken by any agency. A few of the states have attempted to introduce the new American to our life and language, especially through their school systems. These efforts, although excellent, are not enough. The facts in Price and Sheboygan counties illustrate the points. The State of Wisconsin has put on a splendid program of Americanization, yet, instead of racial fusion, there is still much racial confusion.

NEW AMERICANS NEGLECTED BY THE CHURCH

The problem of Americanization is so huge and vital a task that it should not be left to any one organization or group. Every forward-looking agency in a community should coöperate. Yet the rural church has been doing practically nothing to meet this need. Price and Sheboygan Counties are not exceptions; they are all too typical. The town and country churches of this land have avoided the challenge of the strangers within their gates. Within a radius of fifty miles of one thriving American city 2,000 foreign-born, 80 per cent of them belonging to one nationality, have settled in five communities during the last two years. These localities are entirely uncared for by either Protestants or Roman Catholics, and yet the churches in this area calmly state that they are doing nothing "because of the foreign population."

Other recent investigations into church life have proved illuminating and humiliating. Returns from one eastern county of 30,000 people omitted all mention of a town of 2,000 inhabitants. Inquiry brought forth the explanation that this town was made up of foreigners, and was therefore of no significance in the study of the churches of that county. In a mid-western county it was discovered that no note had been taken of a group of seven Bohemian families which had settled in a township, representing a total of forty or forty-five souls. The reason given was that the number was "too few." The local leaders failed to realize that these seven families were probably only an advance guard, and that if they were won for the Church and the community, the foreign problem of the county would be solved. Unfortunately these cases are typical. In only a few counties are the churches reaching as many as 50 per cent of

THE RURAL CHURCH AND AMERICANIZATION

the foreign-born in their midst, and in all too many sections ministers are doing absolutely nothing to reach the newly arrived alien.

It is true that the handicaps of country churches make it difficult for them to handle adequately their foreign problem. When new Americans move into a rural region the Church stands baffled and uncertain, unable to adapt its program to the changing condition. The ministers with circuits for a charge have only time to look after their own members, and are unable to organize aggressive services for the new-comers. The inadequate equipment of the average country church deprives it of the opportunity of making its first approach through that type of community service which centers the life of the people in the church building. The small size and barren appearance of the average country church make but a poor appeal to Europeans accustomed to artistic edifices. Most important of all, the lack of training on the part of too many of our country ministers makes it impossible for them to understand the viewpoint and peculiar needs of new Americans.

But these obstacles are no excuse. The same arguments could have been applied to the first suggestion that institutional churches be established in our great cities to meet the needs of polyglot peoples. Indeed, the responsibility of the rural churches to help assimilate the new American is even greater than that of the urban churches. In our cities there are often volunteer organizations which will "carry on" when the churches fail. This is not the case in the open country where the Church and the school are practically the only social agencies to undertake this task. If they fall down the problem is neglected. And do not be deceived—Americanization is not an automatic process. Old world outlooks will live on for generations in immigrant communities which are allowed to inbreed intellectually.

If the Church is to meet the need for Americanization in rural regions, the first step for her is squarely to face the problem of citizenship training. The question of the immigrant on the land has never been analyzed clearly. People speak of immigrant communities in rural areas as though they were as identical as peas in a pod. In reality they vary as widely as the poles. There are communities of people, as in Sheboygan, dominantly of one race who have been here for generations and who, although they still speak a foreign tongue, consider themselves fully Americanized. Then there are regions like Price County where the people have but recently arrived and speak a Babel of tongues. Again there are areas where a few new-comers have settled in the midst of an old Amer-

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

ican farming section. Each of these situations demands a different type of Americanization—each a distinct method of approach.

NEED FOR DEMONSTRATION WORK

After the Church has analyzed the Americanization problems of rural communities into various types, the next step is to study in detail the needs of the new-comers in each, and to devise the best ways of meeting them. Investigation should be made of the successful methods that are being employed by a few individual churches which are struggling with this problem and the whole story of their aims and efforts should be made known. It will be found, however, that very little fundamental work of this sort has been undertaken by the Church, and that much remains to be learned about the best methods of Americanizing immigrant farmers via the Church. Each major denomination should, therefore, take upon itself one or two pieces of demonstration work which would point the way to effective church service for new Americans on the part of local churches. For example, one or two denominations might well establish community church enterprises in some of the neglected areas of Price County. These experiments, while retaining their denominational affiliations and viewpoint, should rise above denominational lines and should strive to meet not only the needs of their constituency but those of the entire community as well. The task should be faced in the same spirit that moves foreign mission enterprises. When the Church goes to China, she begins her ministry by meeting the pressing every-day problems of the population. She uses school teachers, agricultural missionaries, nurses, doctors, as well as preachers. This is the spirit in which the Church should go to Price County. The building for such a community enterprise should be more than an auditorium for worship. It should have facilities for social and recreational life, and be provided with a staff that could help the new settlers not only with their religious problems, but with their economic and social puzzles. The leader in charge of the experiment, or some member of his staff, ought to be able to tell farmers in Price County when to plant potatoes, how to dig ditches and blow stumps, and the like.

Obviously the success of such an endeavor would depend primarily upon the type of man selected to lead it and upon the adequacy of the financial support which he received from his denomination. Church officials who are not willing to see the experiment through should not undertake it at all. In order that the

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project may not be jeopardized by unchristian competition, denominations conducting such work should be protected by agreements with the other denominational bodies at work in the same section.

As soon as these demonstration enterprises have arrived at definite conclusions regarding the best methods of reaching the new American, other churches in the rural field should be acquainted with the results and an effort made to induce them to adopt constructive policies of Americanization. National church boards should prepare literature dealing with the problems which loom large in rural areas settled by immigrants. Most of all, our theo-



A COMMUNITY HALL IN PRICE COUNTY

The only recreational agency in this community

logical seminaries should acquaint their students with the opportunity and responsibility for Americanization work on the part of the Church. For the Church has a tremendous responsibility in this matter.

When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of

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the world: for I was an-hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: *I was a stranger and ye took me in:* naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an-hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*

PART II
METHODOLOGY AND TABLES

THE METHOD AND DEFINITIONS OF THE SURVEY

The method used in the Town and Country Surveys of the Interchurch World Movement and of the Committee on Social and Religious Surveys differs from the method of earlier surveys in this field chiefly in the following particulars:

1. "Rural" was defined as including all population living outside of incorporated places of over 5,000. Previous surveys usually excluded all places of 2,500 population or over, which follows the United States census definition of "rural."

2. The local unit for the assembling of material was the community, regarded, usually, as the trade area of a town or village center. Previous surveys usually took the minor civil division as the local unit. The disadvantage of the community unit is that census and other statistical data are seldom available on that basis, thus increasing both the labor involved and the possibility of error. The great advantage is that it presents its results assembled on the basis of units which have real social significance, which the minor civil division seldom has. This advantage is considered as more than compensating for the disadvantage.

3. The actual service area of each church as indicated by the residences of its members and adherents was mapped and studied. This was an entirely new departure in rural surveys.

Four chief processes were involved in the actual field work of these surveys:

1. Community units and any subsidiary neighborhood units included within them were determined. The community boundaries were ascertained by noting the location of the last family on each road leading out from a given center who regularly traded at that center. These points, indicated on a map, were connected with each other by straight lines. The area about the given center thus enclosed was regarded as the community.

2. Thus defined, the economic, social and institutional life of each community was studied.

3. Each church in the county was located, its parish area determined, and its equipment, finance, membership, organization, program and leadership studied.

4. A map was prepared showing, in addition to the usual physical features, the boundaries of each community, the location, parish

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area and circuit connections of each church and the residence of each minister.

The following are the more important definitions used in the making of these surveys and the preparation of the reports:

GEOGRAPHICAL

City—a center of over 5,000 population. Not included within the scope of these surveys except as specifically noted.

Town—a center with a population of from 2,501 to 5,000. (In this survey one exception has been made to this rule. Because of the reasons given at the end of Chapter IV, Phillips, the county seat of Price County, has been considered as a town even though its population is but 2,200. This classification has been followed throughout the tables.)

Village—a center with a population of from 251 to 2,500.

Hamlet—any clustered group of people not living on farms whose numbers do not exceed 250.

Open Country—the farming area, excluding hamlets and other centers.

Country—used in a three-fold division of population included in scope of survey into Town, Village and Country. Includes Hamlets and Open Country.

Town and Country—the whole area covered by these surveys, i.e., all population living outside of cities.

Rural—used interchangeably with Town and Country.

Community—that unit of territory and of population characterized by common social and economic interests and experiences; an “aggregation of people the majority of whose interests have a common center.” Usually ascertained by determining the normal trade area of each given center. The primary social grouping of sufficient size and diversity of interests to be practically self-sufficing in ordinary affairs of business, civil and social life.

Neutral Territory—any area not definitely included within the area of one community. Usually an area between two or more centers and somewhat influenced by each but whose interests are so scattered that it cannot definitely be assigned to the sphere of influence of any one center.

Neighborhood—a recognizable social grouping having certain interests in common but dependent for certain elemental needs upon some adjacent center within the community area of which it is located.

THE METHOD AND DEFINITIONS OF THE SURVEY

Rural Industrial—pertaining to any industry other than farming within the Town and Country area.

POPULATION

Foreigner—refers to foreign-born and native-born of foreign parentage.

New Americans—usually includes foreign-born and native-born of foreign or mixed parentage, but sometimes refers only to more recent immigration. In each case the exact meaning is clear from the context.

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Parish—the area within which the members and regular attendants of a given church live.

Circuit—two or more churches combined under the direction of one minister.

Resident Pastor—a church whose minister lives within its parish area is said to have a resident pastor.

Full-time Resident Pastor—a church with a resident pastor who serves no other church and follows no other occupation than the ministry is said to have a full-time resident pastor.

Part-time Pastor—a church whose minister either serves another church also or devotes part of his time to some regular occupation other than the ministry or both is said to have a part-time minister.

Non-resident Member—one carried on the rolls of a given church but living too far away to permit regular attendance; generally, any member living outside the community in which the church is located unless he is a regular attendant.

Inactive Member—a person on the church roll who resides within the parish area of the church but who neither attends its services or contributes to its support.

Net Active Membership—the resultant membership of a given church after the number of non-resident and inactive members is deducted from the total on the church roll.

Per Capita Contributions or Expenditures—the total amount contributed or expended divided by the number of the *net active* membership.

Budget System—a church which at the beginning of the fiscal year makes an itemized forecast of the entire amount of money required for its maintenance during the year as a basis for a canvass of its membership for funds is said to operate on a budget system

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with respect to its local finances. If amounts to be raised for denominational or other benevolences are included in the forecast and canvass, it is said to operate on a budget system for all monies raised.

Adequate Financial System—three chief elements are recognized in an adequate financial system: a budget system, an annual every member canvass and the use of envelopes for the weekly payment of subscriptions.

Receipts—receipts have been divided under three heads:

- a. Subscriptions, that is monies received in payment of annual pledges.
- b. Collections, that is money received from free will offerings at public services.
- c. All other sources of revenue, chiefly proceeds of entertainments and interest on endowments.

Salary of Minister—Inasmuch as some ministers receive in addition to their cash salary the free use of a house while others do not, a comparison of the cash salaries paid is misleading. In all salary comparisons, therefore, the cash value of a free parsonage is arbitrarily stated as \$250 a year and that amount is added to the cash salary of each minister with free parsonage privileges. Thus an average salary stated as \$1,450 is equivalent to \$1,200 cash and the free use of a house.

TABLES

THE FOLLOWING TABLES REPRESENT IN TABLOID
FORM THE MAJOR FACTS REVEALED BY
THE INVESTIGATION.

TABLES

TABLE I.

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF SHEBOYGAN AND PRICE COUNTIES

ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

<i>Distribution of Population</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>		<i>Price</i>		<i>Entire State</i>	
	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920
Rural population ..	25,396	25,543	13,795	15,841	1,329,540	1,387,407
Increase 1910-1920 ..		0.6%		14.8%		4.4%
Urban population ..	29,492	34,379		2,676	1,004,320	1,244,568
Increase 1910-1920 ..		16.5%				23.9%
Total population ..	54,888	59,913	13,795	18,517	2,333,860	2,632,007
Increase 1910-1920 ..		16.5%				23.9%
Density of population per square mile:						
Rural density	48.7	49.0	10.8	12.4	24.1	25.1
Total density	105.4	115.0	10.8	14.5	42.2	47.6
Number of dwellings ..	10,708	12,483	2,723	3,732	462,355	526,188
Number of families ..	12,066	14,151	2,779	3,830	499,629	595,316

In Sheboygan County the rural population has been outstripped by the urban, but in Price the situation is reversed.

Sheboygan, however, has nearly five times as many inhabitants per square mile as Price.

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TABLE II.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF SHEBOYGAN
AND PRICE COUNTIES

ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

	<i>Sheboyan</i>	<i>Numerical Importance</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Numerical Importance</i>
Total population	59,913		18,517	
Native white total	48,376		13,749	
Native parentage	22,112		5,085	
Foreign parentage	17,804		6,476	
Mixed parentage	8,460		2,188	
Foreign white total	11,533		4,764	
Austria	763	4	254	5
Canada-French	7	18	57	12
Canada-Other	98	10	163	8
Czecho-Slovakia	55	15	1,104	1
Denmark	31	16	66	10
England and Scotland	106	8	38	14
Finland	0	..	550	4
Germany	5,492	1	772	3
Greece	238	7	3	16
Hungary	88	11	63	11
Ireland	68	14	20	15
Jugo Slavia	561	5	57	12
Lithuania	279	6	20	15
Netherlands	1,175	3	20	15
Norway	87	12	227	6
Poland	104	9	218	7
Russia	2,099	2	116	9
Sweden	26	17	920	2
Switzerland	79	13	52	13
All other countries	177		44	
Other than white	4		4	

A score of nationalities have here been thrown into these rural melting pots.

TABLES

TABLE III.

LAND AND FARM AREA

ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

	<i>Sheboygan</i>		<i>Price</i>	
	1920 acres	1910 acres	1920 acres	1910 acres
Approximate land area	333,440	333,440	818,560	818,560
Land in farms	311,332	306,216	161,894	119,005
Improved land in farms	226,734	227,200	40,387	23,105
Woodland in farms	42,561	40,368	71,921	50,008
Other unimproved land in farms	42,937	38,639	49,586	45,892
Average acreage per farm	85.0	84.0	83.7	88.0
Average improved acreage per farm	61.9	62.0	20.9	17.0

The average acreage per farm in Sheboygan and Price Counties is nearly equal, but the improved acreage per farm in Sheboygan is nearly three times what it is in Price. Much of Price County's agricultural riches have still to be developed.

TABLE IV.

ACREAGE AND VALUE OF CULTIVATED CROPS

ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

	<i>Sheboygan</i>		<i>Price</i>	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
Acreage in cultivated crops ...	161,207	139,784	25,677	14,853
<i>Cereals</i>				
Corn	10,626	16,566	87	81
Oats	46,924	42,459	4,575	1,450
Wheat	8,072	1,700	952	65
Barley	6,389	24,675	457	420
Rye	4,848	4,986	583	128
<i>Hay and Forage</i>				
All tame and cultivated grasses	49,779	44,126	21,711	11,541
<i>Special Crops</i>				
Potatoes	2,944	3,109	2,106	1,059
All other vegetables	3,591	1,745	25	236
	<i>dollars</i>	<i>dollars</i>	<i>dollars</i>	<i>dollars</i>
Value of all crops	7,650,447	3,008,585	1,760,473	491,504
Cereals	2,064,078	1,568,225	159,858	33,957
Hay and forage	3,498,516	960,925	932,752	177,725
Vegetables	843,065	202,981	626,083	61,004

In the last decade the total value of all crops increased 146% in Sheboygan County. In Price the increase was 260%.

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TABLE V.
F FARMS AND FARM PROPERTY
ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

	<i>Sheboygan</i>		<i>Price</i>	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
F FARMS OPERATED BY OWNERS:				
Number of farms	3,219	3,243	1,836	1,304
Per cent of all farms	87.9	88.9	94.9	96.4
Land in farms—acres	263,483	272,704	145,178	112,166
Improved land in farms— acres	195,892	202,948	37,050	22,048
Value of land and buildings	\$43,151,294	\$24,031,915	\$6,880,443	\$2,571,430
Number of farmers owning entire farm	3,049	3,110	1,783	1,277
Number of farmers hir- ing additional lands ..	170	133	53	27
Color and nativity of owners:				
Number of native white.	2,716	2,311	522	251
Number of foreign-born white	503	932	1,313	1,052
Number of non-white ..	....	....	1	1
F FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS:				
Number of farms	386	385	81	41
Land in farms—acres	34,988	31,141	6,809	4,074
Value of land and buildings	\$5,585,235	\$2,757,132	\$311,800	\$84,050
Nativity of tenants:				
Number of native white	341	298	51	26
Number of foreign-born white	45	87	30	15
F FARMS OPERATED BY MANA- GERS:				
Number of farms	59	19	18	7
Land in farms—acres	12,861	2,371	9,907	2,765
Improved land in farms— acres	4,782	1,561	1,394	327
Value of land and buildings	\$2,082,528	\$229,200	\$387,200	\$48,000

The number of farm owners decreased in Sheboygan County but increased in Price during the last census period. In Sheboygan County approximately 84 per cent of the farm owners are native born whites. In Price County foreign born farm owners number approximately 78 per cent of the total.

TABLES

TABLE VI.

LIVE STOCK ON FARMS AND RANGES 1920, 1910 AND LIVE-STOCK PRODUCTS 1919, 1909

ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920 AND REPORT OF THE DAIRY AND FOOD COMMISSIONER OF WISCONSIN

LIVE STOCK	Sheboygan		Price	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
Farms reporting domestic animals	3,571	3,589	1,836	1,230
Number of animals				
Horses	12,205	12,243	3,375	1,870
Beef cattle	1,870	all cattle	499	all cattle
Dairy cattle	58,543	62,199	14,618	8,254
Sheep	817	2,740	3,827	983
Swine	33,637	28,224	3,806	986
Poultry	268,694	230,872	38,834	27,280
Value of all domestic animals	\$7,510,285	\$3,461,020	\$1,349,565	\$396,671
Horses	1,286,847	1,277,011	423,864	214,972
Beef cattle	47,660	all cattle	20,234	all cattle
Dairy cattle	5,603,207	1,961,046	783,212	168,485
Sheep	9,241	10,146	58,418	3,347
Swine	472,654	211,774	50,894	8,814
Poultry	140,342	105,054	35,106	11,727
LIVE STOCK PRODUCTS	1919	1909	1919	1909
Dairy Products				
Milk produced (as reported) gals.	26,133,686	21,657,227	3,722,801	1,145,751
Milk and cream sold, gals.	25,457,664	23,059,524	416,049	172,184
Butter fat sold, lbs.	293,252	20,065	851,603	80,639
Butter sold, lbs.	8,494	106,385	37,308	130,144
Cheese produced, lbs.	17,978,960	1,343	325,002	6,175
Wool (1919, not on farms)				
Sheep shorn, number	523	1,491	5,474	526
Wool produced (as reported), lbs.	41,222	11,252	21,804	3,320
Value of				
Dairy products	\$6,321,492	\$2,308,845	\$687,707	\$121,516
Wool	2,143	706	12,928	2,903

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

TABLE VII.
ILLITERACY

ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

Population	Sheboygan		Price		The State	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
TOTAL 10 YRS. AND OVER	47,649		13,698		2,060,567	
Illiterate	1,663	2.2	410	3.	50,307	2.4
Native white	36,297		8,967		1,601,443	
Illiterate	160	0.5	51	0.6	10,449	0.7
Foreign-born white	11,348		4,728		456,420	
Illiterate	893	7.9	359	7.6	38,359	8.4
TOTAL 16 TO 20 YRS. INC.	5,328		1,654		233,438	
Illiterate	13	0.2	7	0.4	936	0.4
ILLITERACY 21 YRS. AND OVER						
Males	483	2.6	195	3.6	25,290	3.2
Native white	83		23		5,423	
Foreign-born white	400		172		19,082	
Females	557	3.2	205	5.2	23,416	3.2
Native white	67		18		3,635	
Foreign-born white	489		187		19,042	

In Price and Sheboygan Counties combined there are more than 1,200 illiterate foreign-born whites.

TABLE VIII.
SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL LIFE

	Sheboygan	Price
Total number of communities	22	13
Number of communities with dance halls	20	11
Number of communities with movies	4	3
Number of communities with pool rooms	9	9
Number of communities with bowling alleys	5	1
Number of communities with available public or semi-public buildings	11	12
Number of communities with organized athletics ..	7	7
Number of communities with bands	8	5
Number of communities with orchestras	6	4
Number of communities with community singing ..	3	2
Number of communities with miscellaneous recreational events	3	9

More communities are better equipped for dancing than for any other type of recreation. Other recreation is haphazard in character and unequally distributed.

TABLES

TABLE IX.
AGE AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
ACCORDING TO THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1920

<i>Population</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Price</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
UNDER 7 YEARS	8,767	3,406
7 TO 13 YEARS INCLUSIVE	8,118	3,237
Attending school	7,750	95.5
14 AND 15 YEARS	2,104	845
Attending school	1,651	551
16 AND 17 YEARS	2,189	764
Attending school	958	207
18 TO 20 YEARS INCLUSIVE	3,139	890
Attending school	396	91
		10.2

Pioneer conditions are not conducive to the best school work or attendance—an additional handicap in Americanization work.

TABLE X.
DATES OF ORGANIZATION OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES

	<i>Price County</i>	<i>Sheboygan County</i>
Oldest church organization	1880	1836
Newest church organization	1918	1916
Number organized 1821 to 1840	0	1
1841 " 1860	0	21
1861 " 1880	1	21
1881 " 1900	14	11
1901 " 1920	15	4
No information	0	1
Totals	30	59

In Sheboygan County the organization of new Protestant churches has quite definitely passed its peak, while Price County is in the midst of a boom.

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 TABLE XI.
 CHURCH PROPERTY

NUMBER, KIND, DISTRIBUTION AND VALUE OF BUILDINGS USED FOR CHURCH PURPOSES

	<i>Town</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheb.</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheb.</i>
Church buildings:				
Number	6	5	10	59
Total value	\$19,500	\$45,100	\$30,000	\$45,040
Average value	8,250	9,020	3,000	7,543.76
Parsonages:				
Number	5	4	6	42
Total value	\$16,875	\$14,000	\$13,000	\$153,500
Average value	3,375	3,500	2,166.67	3,654.76
Other buildings:				
Number	0	2	1	27
Total value	0	\$17,000	\$300	\$50,100
Average value	0	8,500	.300	2,188.88

There is a rural Protestant church for every 400 men, women and children in the town and country districts of Sheboygan, while in Price County there is one to every 517 people.

TABLES

TABLE XII.

GAIN AND LOSS IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP (ONE YEAR PERIOD)

Churches showing	Churches located in						Entire Co. Price Sheb.
	Town Price Sheb.	Village Price Sheb.	Country Price Sheb.	7	8	12	
Net loss	0	0	2	4	1	7	3 11
Even break	2	0	0	4	2	8	4 12
Net gain less than 5% ..	1	2	1	2	1	8	3 12
Net gain 5% to 10% ..	3	1	2	6	2	6	7 13
Net gain over 10% ..	1	2	4	7	5	2	10 11
No information	0	0	2	0	1	0	3 0
Totals	—	—	—	23	12	31	30 59

In Price County 67 per cent of the churches gained; in Sheboygan 61 per cent. It should be remembered that Price's population is growing rapidly, while Sheboygan's is practically stationary.

TABLE XIII.

GROWTH AND DECLINE IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP (TEN YEAR PERIOD)

Churches with Present Total Membership of	Number of Churches	Number of Growing Churches	Per Cent Growing	Number Stationary	Number Declining	Not Org. 10 Yrs. Ago	
						1	8
Price	0 to 50...	19	7	36.8	1	8	3
	51 to 150...	9	6	66.7	1	2	0
	Over 150...	2	2	100.0	0	0	0
She- boygan	0 to 50...	13	2	15.4	4	7	0
	51 to 150...	22	15	68.1	0	6	1
	Over 150...	24	20	83.3	1	2	1

The smaller the church the smaller its chance of gain, even in a new county like Price.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

TABLE XIV.

ANALYSIS OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP BY RESIDENCE AND ACTIVITY

Number of	Churches located in				Entire County	
	Town	Village	Country	Price Sheb.		
Non-resident members .	40	51	77	78	41	45
Resident and inactive ..	75	343	80	38	88	50
Resident and active ...	535	1,353	577	3,152	314	5,074
Total reported membership	650	1,747	734	3,268	443	5,160
Average per congregation	93	349	67	142	37	167
					61	173

The average church in Sheboygan County has three times as many members as the average in Price County. Age, prosperity, tradition and higher population density account for this difference.

TABLE XV.

RESIDENT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP BY AGE AND SEX

	Price Per Cent	Sheboygan Per Cent
Males over twenty-one	32.2	30
Males under twenty one	9.1	14
Females over twenty-one	44.0	39
Females under twenty-one	14.7	17

Minors constitute nearly one-third of the total church membership in Sheboygan County—a remarkable record. In Price County they make up nearly one-quarter of the total.

TABLES

TABLE XVI.
OCCUPATIONS OF CHURCH MEMBERS
Churches Located in

PRICE COUNTY	Total			Village			Country			Entire County		
	Number of Members	Per Cent of Total	Number of Members	Per Cent of Total	Number of Members	Per Cent of Total	Number of Members	Per Cent of Total	Number of Members	Per Cent of Total	Number of Members	Per Cent of Total
Retired farmers	0	...	7	3.1	0	...	...	...	7	1.2	351	60.1
Operating farmers	56	29.2	176	78.2	119	71	0	0	3	.5	3	5
Farm renters	3	1.6	0	...	0	...	35	20.8	47	8.0	47	8.0
Farm laborers	12	6.3	0	...	35	7	4.1	4.1	57	9.8	57	9.8
Business or professional	43	22.5	7	3.1	7	4.1	4.1	4.1	119	20.4	119	20.4
All others	77	40.4	35	15.6	7	4.1	4.1	4.1	168	100.0	168	100.0
Total reporting occupations	191	100.0	225	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	584	100.0	584	100.0
SHEBONGAN COUNTY												
Retired farmers	53	7.0	148	12.8	81	4.5	80.5	80.5	282	7.6	2,123	57.5
Operating farmers	190	25.1	502	43.2	1,311	3.4	60	3.4	1,77	4.8	1,77	4.8
Farm renters	21	2.8	96	8.3	19	1.1	19	1.1	90	2.4	90	2.4
Farm laborers	28	3.7	43	3.7	87	4.9	100	5.6	376	10.2	646	17.5
Business or professional	130	17.2	159	13.7	18.3	1.1	100	1.1	1,160	1.000	1,160	1.000
All others	334	44.2	212	18.3	—	—	—	—	1,778	1,000	1,778	1,000
Total reporting occupations	756	100.0	1,160	100.0	1,160	100.0	1,160	100.0	3,604	100.0	3,604	100.0

The largest proportion of church members are farmers.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

 TABLE XVII
 FINANCIAL RECEIPTS OF CHURCHES

Churches Located in

	<i>Town</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Entire County</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>
Total amount raised	\$11,690.31	\$15,185.85	\$8,106.32	\$50,561.19	\$2,631.16	\$54,978.26	\$22,427.79	\$120,725.30				
Average per church	1,670.04	3,037.17	736.94	2,108.31	219.26	1,773.49	747.59	2,040.19				
Per capita amount	17.34	11.22	12.09	10.04	7.35	10.83	13.11	12.60				

The total amount raised by Sheboygan churches is impressive but her per capita giving is small.

 TABLE XVIII
 YEARLY DISBURSEMENTS OF CHURCHES

Churches Located in

	<i>Town</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Entire County</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>
Disbursed for:												
Salaries of ministers.....	\$4,193.00	\$5,415.00	\$4,870.00	\$18,389.00	\$1,565.00	\$22,134.00	\$10,634.00	\$45,948.00				
Missions and benevolences.	1,401.42	1,125.50	1,644.00	12,022.86	380.50	22,101.25	3,485.92	38,390.61				
All other expenses.....	5,085.56	4,889.40	1,526.32	17,894.73	694.93	10,201.13	7,900.81	33,045.26				
Total expenditures	\$11,339.98	\$14,439.90	\$8,046.32	\$48,306.50	\$2,640.43	\$54,550.38	\$22,026.73	\$117,302.87				
Average per church	1,619.99	2,887.95	731.48	2,100.28	220.09	1,759.88	734.22	1,988.18				
Per capita amount	16.82	10.67	12.01	15.32	7.38	10.75	12.96	12.24				

The pioneer county, despite its handicaps, gives more money per member than the older, richer county, though the average church in Sheboygan County raises nearly three times as much money as the average church in Price.

TABLES

TABLE XIX.

FINANCIAL SYSTEMS IN THE CHURCHES

	Town		Churches located in Village		Country		Entire County	
	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.
Number of churches with:								
Budget for all monies.	6	4	3	6	3	8	12	18
Budget for local expenses only	1	1	4	10	7	14	12	25
Annual every-member canvass	6	3	5	11	8	11	19	25
Both budget and every-member canvass	6	3	4	11	8	11	18	25
No budget and no every-member canvass	0	0	3*	7	2	9	5*	16
churches	7	5	11	23	12	31	30	59

* One of these has tithing system.

All but four of Price County's churches are using some or all of the modern methods of church finance. Sixteen or more than one-quarter in Sheboygan have not yet initiated such methods.

TABLE XX.

VARIATION IN PER-CAPITA GIVING, PER ACTIVE MEMBER

	Town		Churches located in Village		Country		Entire County	
	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.
In churches with:								
Resident pastor ...	\$17.34	\$11.23	\$12.62	\$17.51	\$ 5.04	\$10.93	\$14.00	\$13.03
Non-resident pastor	0	10.87	8.21	5.83	9.42	9.92	8.97	8.39
No pastor	0	0	0.13	12.74	9.11	0	9.11	12.74
Highest giving per church	24.80	25.25	77.43	67.50	14.29	28.28	77.43	67.50
Lowest giving per church	1.35	6.43	3.90	2.15	3.57	3.90	1.35	2.15

How can the average and less than average church learn to approximate the best?

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

TABLE XXI. HOW THE CHURCH DOLLAR IS EXPENDED

			Churches located in				Entire		
	Town	Village	Country	County	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	
<i>Cents expended for:</i>									
Salaries of ministers	37.1	37.5	60.6	38	59.3	40.5	48.4	39.1	
Missions and benevo-									
lences	12.9	28.6	20.4	24.8	14.4	40.6	15.8	32.6	
All other purposes	50.0	33.9	19.0	37.2	26.3	18.9	35.8	28.3	
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Practically thirty-three cents out of every dollar raised by Sheboygan's churches are expended for missions or benevolences. This is a remarkable record.

TABLE XXII. HOW THE CHURCH DOLLAR IS RAISED

			Churches located in				Entire		
	Town	Village	Country	County	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	
<i>Cents raised:</i>									
By subscription	78.5	79.5	63.9	69.0	43.1	55.8	60.0	64.7	
By collection	9.8	16.1	11.3	19.1	18.3	42.3	11.4	29.6	
By all other methods	11.7	4.4	24.8	11.0	38.6	1.9	19.6	5.7	
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

About two-thirds of the contributions in Price and Sheboygan Counties are raised by subscription.

TABLES

TABLE XXIII.

SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE

	Enrollment				Attendance		
	Number of Schools	All Schools		Average per School	All Schools	Average per School	Per Cent of enroll. all Schools
		Number of Schools	Average per School				
PRICE COUNTY							
Located in							
Town	7	758	108	530	75	70.	83
Village	11	353	32	239	22	67.6	166
Country	11	283	26	219	20	77.4	275
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals ...	29	1,394	48	988	34	70.9	524
SHEBOYGAN COUNTY							
Located in							
Town	4	352	88	224	56	63.5	18
Village	21	1,533	73	1,185	56	77.3	642
Country	28	2,011	72	1,280	46	63.8	1,505
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals ...	53	3,896	73	2,689	51	69.0	2,165

Price County excels in proportionate average attendance.

TABLE XXIV.

ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CHURCH

(OTHER THAN SUNDAY SCHOOLS)

Organizations for:	In Churches located in		Number of Churches having		Total Membership	
	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.
Men	1	1	1	1	15	20
Women	26	51	24	39	713	1,367
Boys	5	1	5	1	102	....
Girls	2	12	2	10	36	272
Both sexes	8	22	8	21	199	691

The Church should minister to every age and sex group.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

TABLE XXV.
SUNDAY SCHOOL STATISTICS

	Price	Sheboygan	Total
Total number of Sunday Schools	29	53	82
Number of Sunday Schools having:			
Provision for leadership training	0	7	7
Efforts to increase attendance	5	12	17
Number of organized departments	11	13	24
Cradle Rolls	3	10	13
Home departments	2	4	6
Teacher training classes	1	6	7
Sunday School papers	20	31	51
Libraries	9	17	26
Annual picnics	17	28	45
Socials	5	10	15
Other social times as a whole	6	8	14
Other organizations	1	2	3
Number of schools having pupils in schools beyond High School	7	24	31
Number of pupils entering Christian work in last ten years	8	49	57
Pupils joining church last year	107	304	411
From how many churches	10	35	45
Classes to prepare for church membership	12	34	46
Mission study classes	11	16	27
Regular missionary offerings	13	30	43
Number of Sunday Schools open all year	21	46	67

Any first grade Sunday School should have all or nearly all of these items.

TABLE XXVI.

CLASSIFICATION OF CHURCHES ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE OF MINISTERS, AND DISTRIBUTION OF THEIR TIME

Number of churches having:	Churches located in						Entire County	
	Town		Village		Country			
	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.		
Ministers resident in parish	6	4	6	16	1	22	13	42
Non-resident minister	1	1	4	6	7	9	12	16
No minister	0	0	1	1	4	0	5	1
Full time minister	2	3	2	12	1	16	5	29
Half time minister	1	2	3	8	2	4	6	14
Third time minister	3	0	2	3	3	3	8	6
Fourth time minister, or less	1	0	2	1	1	5	4	6
Number of ministers having some other occupation	0	0	1	0	1	3	-2	3
No minister	0	0	1	1	4	0	5	1
Totals	7	5	11	23	12	31	30	59

The older, richer county has 70 per cent of its churches with resident ministers. The younger has only 50 per cent.

TABLES

TABLE XXVII

CLASSIFICATION OF CHURCHES ACCORDING TO DISTRIBUTION OF MINISTERS' TIME

<i>Number of churches served by ministers with other occupation</i>		<i>Number of churches served by ministers with no other occupation</i>	
<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>
1	2	Single Point Charges	5 29
0	0	Two Point Circuits	6 14
0	1	Three Point Circuits	8 6
1	0	Four or More Points	4 6
—	—	Totals	—
2	3		23 55

Sheboygan County has an unusually high proportion of full time resident ministers, while Price County is inadequately served.

TABLE XXVIII.

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMUNITIES ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE OF PASTORS

<i>Number of communities with</i>	<i>Price</i>	<i>Sheboygan</i>	<i>Total</i>
1 or more full time resident pastors	1 — 8%	10 — 45%	11 — 31%
1 or more part time resident pastors	3 — 23%	4 — 18%	7 — 20%
1 or more full and part time resident pastors	2 — 15%	5 — 23%	7 — 20%
Served but having no resident pastor	4 — 31%	2 — 9%	6 — 17%
No churches	3 — 23%	1 — 5%	4 — 12%
Totals	13 — 100%	22 — 100%	35 — 100%

Only one out of thirteen communities in Price County has a full time resident pastor, while three communities are entirely without churches.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

Membership gain in churches whose pastors have been in charge:	(ONE YEAR PERIOD)			Gains by Churches located in Village			Entire County Price Shcb.		
	Town	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.	Price	Sheb.
Less than five years	12	20	66	20	53	48	139		
From five to ten years	100	61	119	32	77	148	257		
Over ten years .....	..	17	..	15	..	76	108	..	..
		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	112	98	32	200	52	206	196	504	
No minister .....	..	0	..	12	10	0	10	12	
		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grand total	112	98	32	212	62	206	206	516	

Long pastorates are more effective than short ones.

TABLES

RELATION OF PASTORAL SERVICE TO GAINS BY CONFIRMATION OR CONFESSION OF FAITH
(ONE YEAR PERIOD)

	Number of Chs.	Members Gained	Number of Chs.	Members Gained	Number of Chs.	Members Gained	Number of Chs.	Members Gained
PRICE COUNTY								
Churches with:								
Resident minister	6	112	6	30	6	45	18	187
Non-resident minister	1	..	4	2	2	7	7	9
No minister	0	..	1	..	4	10	5	10
Totals	7	112	11	32	12	62	30	206
SHEBOYGAN COUNTY								
Churches with:								
Resident minister	4	92	16	175	22	174	42	441
Non-resident minister	1	6	6	25	9	32	16	63
No minister	0	..	1	12	0	0	1	12
Totals	5	98	23	212	31	206	59	516

The resident minister produces more new Christians than the non-resident.

THE NEW AND OLD IMMIGRANT ON THE LAND

 TABLE XXXI.
 RANGE OF SALARIES PAID TO MINISTERS

	<i>Full time ministers</i>	<i>Part time ministers with one church</i>	<i>Part time ministers with one church</i>	<i>Ministers with more than one church</i>	<i>Entire County Price</i>	<i>Entire County Sh'ls.</i>
Maximum salary paid	\$1,750	\$2,250	\$1,250	\$1,950	\$1,950	\$2,250
Minimum salary paid	800	800	1,250	600	600	350
Average salary paid	1,149.20	1,410.79	1,250	550	1,240.50	1,317.93
No. of ministers	5	29	1	2	13	44

Compare these salaries with wages in the building trades.

 TABLE XXXII.
 VARIATION IN SALARIES PAID TO MINISTERS

Range of salaries	<i>Number of Ministers Giving Full Time Price</i>		<i>Number of Ministers With Other Occupation Price</i>	
	<i>Sh'ls.</i>	<i>Sh'ls.</i>	<i>Sh'ls.</i>	<i>Sh'ls.</i>
\$500 or less	0	0	0	0
\$510 to \$750	0	0	0	1
\$751 to \$1,000	3	7	0	1
\$1,001 to \$1,250	9	12	1	0
\$1,251 to \$1,500	2	9	0	0
\$1,501 to \$1,750	1	10	0	0
\$1,751 to \$2,000	1	1	0	0
Over \$2,000	0	2	0	0
Totals	16	41	2	3

Note: \$250 allowed as salary value of free parsonage where furnished.
 Is the country church paying a living wage?

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